

MEMOIRS

Of the Most

MATERIAL TRANSACTIONS

IN

ENGLAND,

FOR THE

LAST HUNDRED YEARS,

Preceeding the

REVOLUTION

In 1688.

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Fellow of the College of Physicians, *London*.

A NEW EDITION, Corrected.

With a Compleat INDEX.

G L A S G O W:

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TO THE
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S I R,

THE Great Patrons of Liberty have not thought it below them to become the Patrons of History: and any Thing of that kind which concerns *England*, does naturally claim the Protection of a Prince, who by his Valour and Conduct has not only restor'd to the *English* Nation that Figure they had lost in the World for near a hundred Years past, but has rais'd them to a greater than ever they had before: A Prince, who in all he has done for the Common Safety of *Europe*, could have no brighter Examples to follow, than those of his own Family. For when others have fought for Dominion and lower vain empty Notions, and destructive to Mankind; it has ever been a Glory peculiar to the House of *Nassau*, to have fought for *LIBERTY*, the Noblest Cause, and the Greatest Stake that Mortals can contend for.

Let some Princes pretend to fading Laurels, by depopulating Countries, oppressing their Neighbours, and enslaving free People; the surest and best Way to transmit a glorious Name to Posterity, is to relieve the Oppress'd, break off their Fetters, and set the World free.

These require no Varnish to set off their true Lustre; whilst those are oblig'd to make use of false Colours to

palliate the highest Injustice. Let them value themselves upon a Greatness that is borrow'd from Schemes that could hardly fail, as being transmitted to them from the long Experience of the ablest Ministers, and most refin'd Statesmen of the Age. That Prince, who without these Helps, at his first Appearance on the Stage, has by the mere Strength of his own Genius surmounted Difficulties that would have pall'd any Courage but his own, and at length has broke all those Measures that had of a long Time been concerting towards the enslaving of *Christianity*; cannot fail to make one of the noblest and brightest Figures in History.

If it be the Prerogative of an Almighty Power and Goodness to set Bounds to the raging Sea, it must be the highest and most justifiable Imitation of it, to put a stop to the Ambition of Men, and to shelter Nations from their Fury.

It is in this sense chiefly, that Kings may be called Gods: And it is pity that the Lives of such were not as immortal as their Deeds.

The Memory of that Prince must be lasting, who, in all the Wars he has been engaged in, and in all the Treaties that have been made to restore Peace to his Country, has never made any Terms for Himself; except once, when the Interest of Three Kingdoms, and his own, were become one and the same.

When succeeding Ages shall see scarce any other Coin in *England* but of one Stamp, they must look back with Amazement upon the Reign of a Prince whose Image it bears; and wonder how it was possible, That during the heat of the most expensive War that ever was, so vast a Treasure could be new minted, and at so prodigious a Loss: While at the same Time they will commend and bless a People, that with so much Cheerfulness assisted Him with Supplies suitable to such mighty Undertakings. They will be no less surpriz'd to find, That amidst a great

Epistle Dedicatory.

v

great many Hardships and Disappointments which could not be avoided, his Armies follow'd him with an Inviolable Fidelity, and Inimitable Courage: And will hardly believe, That it was within the Compass of human Prudence to cement so many jarring Interests, and unite so many Princes of different Religions into one Alliance, and influence their firm Adherence to that Alliance, till the glorious Conclusion of a General Peace.

S I R,

All these great Things were reserved for Your MAJESTY, which will be admir'd and extoll'd by Posterity, no less than they are by the present Age: And 'tis but reasonable that the Memory of such Actions should live for ever. The following Sheets, containing a short View of the various Disposition of Affairs in *England* for whole Century before Your MAJESTY's Happy Accession to the Crown, I humbly beg leave to lay at Your MAJESTY's Feet with the most profound Submission and Duty that becomes,

May it please Your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most Humble,

Most Faithful, and most

Obedient Subject and Servant,

Feb. 1699.

JAMES WELWOOD.

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Q. M.

TO THE
R E A D E R.

THESE Sheets were writ some Years ago, by the Encouragement of One* whose Memory will be ever Sacred to Posterity. 'Tis needless to mention the Occasion: And they had not been published now, if a Surreptitious Copy of a part of the Manuscript, had not crept abroad. I can hardly expect they should please in an Age like this, that is fond only of what is writ for, or against a Party: For I have trac'd Truth as near as I could, without espousing any Interest or Faction. I hope I may venture to say, That I have tread as softly as was possible over the Graves of the Dead, and have not aggravated the Errors of the Living: As to the latter, it is enough that we are delivered from their Power, without insulting over their Misfortunes; and it is unworthy of a Generous Mind, to trample upon those that are already down.

Most of the Accounts I have seen of the Transactions of these Times, are partial to some one Side; which being one of the greatest Blemishes of History, I have endeavoured to avoid: But whether I have fallen into the same Error myself, it is the Reader must be now Judge. I leave Satire and Panegyrick to others. I envy no Man the Art of making Court to the Great by Flattery, and have not Ill-nature enough for Detraction.

The Design of these Memoirs being only to give a short View of the Thread of Affairs in England, for the Space of one Hundred Years, it is not to be expected that I should have

observ'd

Q. Mary.

observ'd the Rules of a regular History, much less any Niceness of Method, or Exactness in the Narration. As to the Style, I have taken very little Pains about it; and all I have aim'd at, is to be understood.

In the Account I have given of the Last Reign, I would not be thought to reflect upon the Roman Catholicks in general, for what a Party among them is chargeable with. They were chiefly the Bigots of some Religious Orders, and the New Converts, that advis'd and carried on those Violences which in the end overturn'd their Master's Throne; and it is hop'd the Roman Catholicks have Reason to be satisfied with their Condition under the present Reign, since they enjoy an unenvied Liberty of their Religion, without incurring the Hatred of their Fellow-Subjects for being in a Design to overturn the Establish'd Church; which was their Case under the late King James. And as I am far from wishing them less Liberty than they have, so I cannot but regret the hard Usage which the Protestants meet with in other Countries, and wish they were but as well treated there, as the Roman Catholicks are here.

Before I have done, I beg leave to take Notice of a Pamphlet that came out last Summer, call'd, *Cursory Remarks upon the Proceedings of the Last Session of Parliament*. The Gentleman that wrote it, had not only the Honesty to publish an Answer to his own Book, but in that Answer to insinuate that I was the Author of it. All the Use I shall make of this unusual Liberty of the Press, is to declare, That I have not publish'd any one Paper, Pamphlet, or Book, these six Years: And though I have but little Leisure, and yet less Inclination to appear again in Print; yet if ever I alter my Resolution, and publish any Thing hereafter, I will certainly put my Name to it; as I have done to these Memoirs.

A Short

Short I N T R O D U C T I O N,

Giving an Account how these *Memoirs* came at first to be writ.

I HAVE given my Bookseller leave to make a sixth Impression of the following *Memoirs*; and the rather that some Time ago, one *Baker* printed more than one Edition of them without my Knowledge, very incorrect and on bad Paper. I own I have been greatly surpriz'd at the Run they have had in the World, considering they were writ without any thought of making them publick, and merely for the private Information (as is hinted in the *Preface*) of my Royal Mistress the late Queen *Mary* of never-dying Memory. The Reader may not perhaps be displeased to know the Occasion of my writing them; which was this:

There came out, the first Years after the Revolution, several Books and Pamphlets that gave very contradictory Accounts of the Affairs and Reign of King *Charles I.* and among others one with the Title of a Letter from General *Ludlow* to Sir *Edward Seymour*, In this Pamphlet the Memory of that Prince was strangely blackned, and all the Transactions of his Reign represented in the worst Light. I had frequently the Honour of that excellent Princess's Commands to attend her in her Retirements, where our Discourse turn'd generally upon Books, and more particularly such as treated of the Reigns of her Great-Grandfather and Grandfather, King *James I.* and

King *Charles I.* In all which Conversations she express'd the nicest Judgment, and the most unbias'd Inclination to find out Truth.

The Week this Letter of General *Ludlow* to Sir *Edward Seymour* came out, and had made a great Noise in Town; the Queen was pleas'd to ask me if I had read it; and I owning I had, she told me she had read it too, adding with a severe Air, that was not in her Nature, she was sure the Author must have been a very wicked Man, and that it was impossible King *Charles* could be the Man he had painted him in that Pamphlet.

Upon this, our Discourse on that Subject drew out into some length; and she seem'd pleas'd with some Things I said, and some Answers I made to Questions she put to me about the Transactions of those Times. At last she fell to regret the insuperable Difficulties she lay under (for I well remember that was her Word) of knowing truly the History of her Grandfather's Reign; saying, that most of the Accounts she had read of it, were either Panegyrick or Satire, not History. Then with an inimitable Grace she told me; If I would in a few Sheets give her a short Sketch of the Affairs of that Reign, and of the Causes that produc'd such dreadful Effects, she would take it well of me. Such Commands were too Sacred not to be obey'd; and when I was retiring from her Presence, she stopt me to tell me she expected I would do what she had desir'd of me, in such a Manner, and with that Freedom, as if I design'd it for the Information of a Friend, and not one, of the Blood of King *Charles I.* promising to show it to none living without my Consent.

In this Manner was I engaged to write these Memoirs: But when I came to set about them, I found my self oblig'd to begin them higher, and carry them down lower in point of Time than was expected of me. Nor perhaps should I have had any Thoughts of publishing them at the Time I did, if I had not been prevail'd with, partly from
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the fear of a surreptitious Copy, but much more from King *William's* having sent me by the late Earl of *Portland* the Manuscript I had given his Queen, found in her Cabinet; where upon the back of it, she had writ with her own Hand the Promise she had made me of showing it to no body without my Consent.

If the World had not been bereav'd so soon of that inestimable Life, I had cast these Memoirs into another Method, with large Additions; wherein some dark Transactions of those Times might possibly have been put in a truer Light than hitherto they have been. And indeed 'tis a Pity, that of all the Nations in *Europe*, the History of ours alone should seem most covered with the Clouds of Darknes and Partiality.

J. W.

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MEMOIRS

Of the Most

MATERIAL TRANSACTIONS

IN

ENGLAND, &c.

THERE is not a Nation in *Europe*, that from the Constitution of its Government might have promis'd it self a more firm and lasting Repose than *England*: And yet scarce any Kingdom we know upon Earth hath suffer'd so many and various Convulsions. As if some malevolent Planet had over-rul'd one of the best of human Constitutions, and by an unaccountable Fatality had render'd ineffectual all the Endeavours of our Ancestors to make themselves and their Posterity happy under a limited Monarchy. A Monarchy, in which the Prerogative of the Prince, and the Liberty of the People are so equally temper'd, that there seems nothing wanting that may tend to the Happiness of either.

The King of *England* has the Glory to rule over a free People; and the People of *England* that of being sub-
The Excellency of the English Constitution.
 ject to a Monarch, who by the Laws of the Country is invest'd with as much Power and Greatness as a Wise and Benelicent Prince can reasonably wish

for. To compleat all, the Crown of *England* has been for many Ages Hereditary, and fix'd in one Family: The Breaches that have been sometimes made in the immediate Line, not at all derogating from the Nature of a successive Monarchy, so long as a due Respect is had to the Blood, and for the most part to the next immediate Heir, except only upon great and urgent Difficulties and Emergencies. The Crown being thus Hereditary, it might have reasonably been expected, That we should not only be Strangers to the Inconveniences that arise naturally from Competitions in elective Kingdoms, but that it should be always the Interest of the Prince that is in Possession of the Throne, so to govern his People, as not to put them upon the Necessity at any Time to break through the Succession, and pass by the next immediate Heir.

But such is the brittle State of human Things, that notwithstanding all the Advantages and Excellencies of the *English* Constitution, scarce an Age has pass'd without some remarkable Struggle, either between King and People for Prerogative and Liberty, or between Competitors for the Crown it self.

The Glory of *England* was arriv'd to a high Pitch in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. *Q. Elizabeth.* Her People liv'd at their Ease, and were happy under her auspicious Conduct; and her oppress'd Neighbours felt the benign Influences of her great and bountiful Mind. She it was that made head against the then *Paramount Power of Christendom*, and that in both the Old and New Worlds: And it was in a great Measure owing to her Conduct and Fortune, that the *Spaniard* fell short of the universal Monarchy.

To draw a Picture worthy of *Q. Elizabeth*. *Her Character.* *Elizabeth*, were a Task fit only for the greatest Masters; since all that ever was Great or Wise in Woman-kind, did contribute to make up her Character. As to her Person, she had but little of a regular

MEMOIRS, &c. 3

ular Beauty in her Face: But that was well proportion'd, and in the main very agreeable. Her Mein and Gait were Noble; and in every Thing she said or did, there was something of Majesty that struck more Awe than Love: Tho' when she had a mind, she could put on Charms that few were able to resist. In her Features, Person and Mein, she had more of *Henry VIII.* than of the unfortunate *Anna Bullen*, her Mother. But they were his good, and none of his ill Qualities, which she deriv'd from her Father.

Her Youth was a continued Scene of Afflictions; but she was happy in that she suffered one of the greatest, before she was capable of feeling the weight of it; for she was scarce three Years old, when her Mother was sacrific'd to the Rage and Jealousy of her Husband. And she that had been, the Year she was born, declar'd not only Heir apparent of the Crown, but (which was out of the ordinary Road) Princess of *Wales*, and that by Act of Parliament, was now by another Act declar'd Illegitimate, and excluded from the Succession.

Notwithstanding this strange Reverse of Fortune, particular Care was taken of her Education, especially by her Brother *Edward VI.* who lov'd her above all Things, and was scarce ever pleas'd but in her Company. Before she was seventeen Years of Age she understood perfectly well the *Latin*, *French*, and *Italian* Tongues; and was so far Mistress of the *Greek*, that she translated into *Latin* two of *Isocrates's* *Orationes*; one of which I have seen of her own Hand writing, corrected by her Tutor but in three Places, whereof one is an Error only in the *Orthography*. She was indefatigable in the Study of Learning, especially *Philosophy*, *History*, *Divinity* and *Rhetorick*; not forgetting both Vocal and Instrumental Musick, as far as it might become one of her Quality.

Being thus Learned, it was no wonder she form'd her Tongue and Pen to a pure and elegant Way of Speaking and Writing, and her Mind to the noblest Notions of *Philosophy*, and the highest Practice of Virtue.

Her Brother dying, Queen *Mary's* Hereditary Averfion to her upon the account of their Mothers, broke out with all the Marks of Ill-nature and Revenge. And *Philip II.* who prov'd afterwards her greateft Enemy, was the Perfon that preserv'd her Life; but it was upon a mere political Design, which however miscarried. During all that Reign, the Princess *Elizabeth* was toft from one Confinement to another; being oblig'd many Times to fuffer Indignities far unworthy of her Birth; till at laft by the Death of Queen *Mary*, she was call'd from a Prison to a Throne, at the Age of twenty five Years. Upon receipt of the News of her Sister's Death, and that she her felf was proclaim'd Queen, 'tis faid she fell down upon her Knees, and after a fhort Silence broke out with thefe Words of the *Pfalmyft*, *A Domino factum eft iftud, & eft mirabile in oculis noftris*: Which Words she took afterwards for her Motto in fome of her Gold Coin.

During all the Time of her Reign she would never allow her Title to be debated or reason'd upon, nor fo much as explain'd or vindicated. She thought it fufficient that she wore the Crown, and was resolv'd, and knew well how to maintain it upon her Head, without the help of Paper-Arguments. She receiv'd with Indignation a Proposition that was made to her, to have her Title afferted in Parliament; and fcorn'd to repeal even the Act which declar'd her Illegitimate, and incapable to fucceed.

Her Reign was long and glorious, being lov'd of her People, fear'd and admir'd by her Enemies, and attended with conftant Succefs in all her Enterprizes. Never Prince was better serv'd, nor more happy in the choice of her Servants; and no Age can inftance fuch a Set of able Minifters as she had. Her Court at home was the quiet and happy Seat of the *Mufes*, while her Fleets and Armies abroad gather'd Laurels every where for their Miftrefs and themfelves.

She

She had to Perfection the Art of pleasing her Parliament; and she and they never parted in discontent, but with the highest Proofs of mutual Confidence. What Sort of Men they were that compos'd the House of Commons during her Reign, and of how different a Stamp from those in that of her

Successor, is best express'd in the * Words of Sir Robert Naunton Secretary to K. James, who was a Member of Parliament in both Reigns; which may not be improper to insert in the Appendix.

* Appendix
Numb. 1.
The Character of the Members of Parliament in

If Queen Elizabeth can be properly said to have had Favourites, they were chiefly the Earls of Leicester and Essex; but she never fail'd to humble them upon every Occasion, where they presum'd too much upon her Favour. The one she recall'd with

Q. Elizabeth's
Reign.

Ignominy from his Government of the United Provinces, for behaving himself haughtily in his Office: And at another Time, upon his threatening Bower, the Usurper of the Black Rod, to have him turn'd out of his Place for stopping one of his Retinue at the Queen's Bed-Chamber Door, she told him with a severe Frown, accompanied with an Oath, *My Lord, I had a mind to do you good, but*

you must not expect a Monopoly of my Favours:

Naunton's *I have other Subjects to show my Bounty to; Fragments and I will give and take back again, when, Regalia. and as often as I please. If you pretend to command here, I'll find Ways to humble you. I*

know of no Master, but I will make you know there is a Mistress. And take care upon your Peril, that no hurt be done Bower, for I will make you answer for him. The Misfortune of the Earl of Essex every body knows: Tho' otherwise a brave Gentleman, and endow'd with excellent Qualities, yet he valued himself too much upon the Queen's Favour; which, together with the Contrivances of his Enemies, hurried him on to Courses that in the End lost him his Head.

6 MEMOIRS, &c.

A Monarch supported with a *Burleigh*, a *Walsingham*, a *Salisbury*, for the *Cabinet*; a *Nottingham*, a *Drake*, a *Raleigh* for *War*; with a great many others equally fit for both; could scarce fail of being great and fortunate, nor can any Thing reflect more Lustre upon her Wisdom, than her choice of such Men.

*The Character
Of Sir Francis
Walsingham.*

Walsingham was a Pattern for all State-men to copy after. By his Vigilance and Address he preserv'd his Mistress's Crown and Life from daily Attempts and Conspiracies against her; and by a refin'd piece of Policy defeated, for a whole Year together, the Measures *Spain* had taken for fitting out their *Armado* to invade *England*.

The vast Preparations that were making for a considerable Time in *Spain*, kept all *Europe* in Suspence, and it was not certain against whom they were design'd; tho' it was the general Opinion they were to subdue the *Netherlands* all at once; which *Spain* was sensible could not be done without a greater Force by Sea as well as Land, than had been hitherto employ'd for that Service. Queen *Elizabeth* thought fit to be upon her guard, and had some Jealousies that she might be aim'd at; but how to find it out, was the Difficulty, which at length *Walsingham* overcame.

He had Intelligence from *Madrid*, That *Philip* had told his Council, that he had dispatch'd an Express to *Rome* with a Letter writ with his own Hand to the Pope, acquainting him with the true Design of his Preparations, and asking his Blessing upon it; which for some Reasons he would not yet disclose to them, till the return of the Courier. The Secret being thus lodg'd with the Pope, *Walsingham* by the Means of a *Venetian* Priest retain'd at *Rome* as his Spy, got a Copy of the Original Letter, which was stolen out of the Pope's Cabinet by a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, who took the Keys out of the Pope's

Pocket

Pocket while he slept. How upon this Intelligence *Walsingham* found a Way to retard the *Spanish* Invasion for a whole Year, by getting the *Spanish* Bills protested at *Genoa*, which should have supplied them with Money to carry on their Preparations, being properly a Mercantile Affair, is needless here to mention.

I shall only give one Instance more of *Walsingham's* Dexterity in employing and instructing his Spies how to get him Intelligence of the most secret Affairs of Princes. The Court of Queen *Elizabeth* had Reason to have an Eye upon the King of *Scots*, as being the next Heir to the Crown, and who they knew was courted with all possible Insinuations into the *French* Interest. In order to fathom King *James's* Intentions, there was one *Wigmore* sent to *Scotland*, who pretending to be disoblig'd in *England*, fled thither for Protection. Sir *Francis Walsingham* gives him above ten Sheets of Paper of Instructions, all writ with his own Hand, which I have read in the *Cotton Library*, so distinct and so digested, as a Man of far inferior Parts to *Wigmore* could hardly fail to be a Master in his Trade. In these Papers he instructs him how to find out King *James's* natural Temper; his Morals; his Religion; his Opinion of Marriage; his Inclinations to Queen *Elizabeth*, to *France*, to *Spain*, to the *Hollanders*, and in short, to all his Neighbours. He likewise directs him how to behave himself towards the King, at Table; when a Hunting; upon his receiving good or bad News; at his going to Bed; and indeed in all the publick and private Scenes of his Life. *Walsingham* was not mistaken in his Man; for tho' there past a constant Correspondence betwixt them, *Wigmore* liv'd in the greatest Favour and Familiarity with King *James* for nine or ten Years together, without the least Suspicion of his being a Spy.

Walsingham also laid the Foundation of the Civil Wars in *France*, and in the *Low-Countries*, which put a final stop to the vast Designs of the the House of *Austria*. Upon which

8 MEMOIRS, &c.

which occasion he told the Queen at his return from his Embassy to France, *That she had no reason to fear the Spaniard; for tho' he had a strong Appetite, and a good Digestion, he had given him such a Bone to pick, as would take him up twenty Years at least, and break his Teeth at last: So her Majesty had no more to do, but to throw into the Fire he had kindled, some English Fuel from time to time to keep it burning.* This Great Man after all the Services he had perform'd for his Queen and Country, gave a remarkable Proof at his Death how far he had preferr'd the Publick Interest to his own; for he died so poor, that his Friends were oblig'd to bury him privately in the Night for fear his Body should be arrested for Debt. *A Fault which few Statesmen since his Time have been guilty of.*

Such Ministers also for Capacity and Application, were Cecil Lord Burleigh, and his Son the Earl of Salisbury, the Inheritor of his Father's great Qualities and Places. How refin'd a Politician he was, and how thoroughly acquainted with the most secret Designs of Foreign Courts, cannot be better express'd, than in the Words of the same Naunton; to which the Reader is referr'd.

Appendix,
Numb. 2.

But to return to Queen Elizabeth: It appears by her whole Conduct she had no Inclination to Marriage, being loth to share her Power with any other. 'Tis true, she seem'd some Times to give ear to Propositions that were made her by several Princes; but this was done either to gain Time, or manage their Friendship to her own Ends. When the Parliament address'd her to marry, she handsomly excus'd her self in a pathetick Speech, concluding with this Expression; *To me, said she, it shall be a full Satisfaction both for the Memorial of my Name, and for my Glory also, if when I shall let my last breath, it be engraven upon my marble Tomb, Here lies Elizabeth, who reign'd a Virgin, and dy'd one.*

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The whole Speech is of so noble a Strain, that it deserves a place in the *Appendix*.

Appendix,
Numb. 3.

She was very sparing of Honours; insomuch that Sir Francis Walsingham had been employ'd in several Embassies and other Matters of State for many Years, before she could be prevail'd with to make him a Knight; notwithstanding it appears that he frequently ask'd it, and particularly in a printed Letter of his to Cecil. The Honour of Knighthood, tho' often prostituted since, was in so great Esteem in her Reign, that a Gentleman of Lincolnshire having rais'd three hundred Men for her Service at Tilbury Camp upon his own Interest, told his Wife at parting, that he hop'd thereby to deserve the Queen's Favour so far, as that she should be a Lady at his Return.

She had a particular Friendship for Henry IV. of France; and to her in a great Measure he ow'd his Crown. She never laid any Thing more to heart than his changing his Religion: And it was a long Time before she could be brought to believe it. But when she receiv'd the Account of it from himself, all her Constancy failed her; and in the Agony of her Grief, snatching up a Pen she writ him a short Expostulatory Letter, worthy of her self, and of that melancholy Occasion; which is related in the *Appendix*. This her Grief (says her Historian) she sought to allay by reading the Sacred Scriptures, and the Writings of the Fathers, and even the Books of *Philosophers*; translating about that Time for an Amusement *Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiæ*, into elegant *English*.

The only Action that seems to reflect upon her Memory, was the Death of Mary Queen of Scots. There had been an Emulation betwixt them of a long standing, occasioned at first by the Letters assuming the

Arms and Title of Queen of *England*; which 'tis no wonder Queen *Elizabeth* highly resented. A great many other Accidents did contribute to alienate their Affections. But when it fell out that every Day produc'd some new Conspiracy against the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, and that in most of them the Queen of *Scots*, was concern'd either as a Party, or the Occasion; Queen *Elizabeth* was put upon a fatal Necessity of either taking off the Queen of *Scots*, or exposing her own Person to the Frequent Attempts of her Enemies. With what Reluctancy Queen *Elizabeth* was brought to consent to her Death, and how she was deceiv'd at last in signing the Warrant for her Execution, by the over-diligence of her Secretary and Privy-Council, her Celebrated Historian has given us a very full and Impartial Account. *Camden.*

Yet Queen *Elizabeth* is not altogether excusable in this Matter; for Queen *Mary* came into *England* upon a Promise made her long before. Queen *Elizabeth* sent her once a Ring, and at the same Time a Message, That if at any Time she wanted her protection, she might be assured of it; and the Token betwixt them was Q. *Mary's* sending her back the same Ring. That unfortunate Princess seeing her Affairs desperate in *Scotland*, dispatch'd a Letter to Q. *Elizabeth*, with the Ring, to put her in mind of her Promise; but without waiting for an Answer, she came into *England* the very next Day. They were both to be pitied, the one for her Sufferings, and the other for being the Cause of them: And I have seen several Letters in the Cotton Library of Q. *Mary's* Hand to Q. *Elizabeth*, writ in the most moving Strain that could be; most of them in *French*, being the Language she did generally write in. There was one particular, wherein she tells her, *That her long Imprisonment had brought her to a Dropsical Swelling in her Legs, and other Diseases, that for the Honour of her Sex she forbears to commit to Paper.* And concludes thus, *Your most affectionate Sister and*

Cousin,

Cousin, and the most miserable Princess that ever wore a Crown. When such Letters as these had no Influence upon Queen Elizabeth, it may reasonably be concluded, That nothing but Self-preservation could oblige her to carry her Resentments so far as she did.

To sum up the Character of this Renowned Queen in a few Words: She found the Kingdom, at her coming to the Throne, in a most afflicted Condition, embroil'd on the one side with a Scotch, and on the other with a French War; the Crown overcharg'd with her Father's and Brother's Debts; its Treasure exhausted; the People distracted with different Opinions in Religion; herself without Friends, with a controverted Title, and strengthened with no Alliance abroad. After one of the longest Reigns that ever was, she died in Peace, leaving her Country potent at Sea, and Rich in People and Trade, her Father's and her Brother's Debts paid; the Crown without any Incumbrance; a great Treasure in the Exchequer; the Coin brought to a true Standard; Religion settled upon a regular and lasting Basis: herself having been admir'd and fear'd by all her neighbouring Princes, and her Friendship courted by Monarchs that had scarce ever before any further Knowledge of England, but the Name. So that her Successor had good Reason to say of her, *That she was one who in Wisdom*

K. James the I. *and Felicity of Government surpass'd all Princes since the Days of Augustus.*

After all, to the Reproach of those she had made great and happy, she was but ill attended in her last Sickness; and near her Death, forsaken by all but three or four Persons: every body making haste to adore the *Rising Sun*.

With Queen Elizabeth dy'd in a great Part the Glory and Fortune of the *English* Nation; and the succeeding Reigns serv'd only to render hers the more Illustrious. As she was far from invading the *Liberties* of her Subjects, so she was careful to maintain and preserve her own just

Prerogatives; nor did ever any Prince that sat upon the *English* Throne carry the true and essential Parts of Royalty farther: But at the same Time the whole Conduct of her Life placed her beyond the Suspicion of ever having sought *Greatness*, for any other End, than to make her People share with her in it.

It was not so with the Prince that succeeded her. He was the more fond of *Prerogative*, because he had been kept short of it in his native Country.

*The Reign of
K. James.*

He grasp'd at an *Immoderate Power*, but with an ill Grace; and if we believe the Historians of that Time, with a Design to make his People little. If so, he had his Wish: for from his first Accession to the Crown, the Reputation of *England* began sensibly to sink, and two Kingdoms which, disunited, had made each of them apart a considerable Figure in the World, now when united under one King, fell short of the Reputation which the least of them had in former Ages.

The latter Years of King *James* fill'd our Annals with little else but Misfortunes at home and abroad. The loss of the *Palatinate*, and the Ruin of the Protestants in *Bohemia* through his Negligence; the Trick that was put upon him by the House of *Austria* in the Business of the *Spanish Match*; and the continued Struggle betwixt him and his Parliament about Redress of Grievances; were Things that help'd on to lessen his Credit abroad, and im-bitter the Minds of his Subjects at home.

Repenting of these unlucky Measures too late, King *James* went off the Stage not much lamented; and left in Legacy to his Son, a *discontented People*; an *unnecessary, expensive War*; an *incumbred Revenue*, and an *exhausted Treasury*; together with the Charge of his Grandchildren by the Queen of *Bohemia*, that were now divested of a large Patrimony, deriv'd to them by a long Series of illustrious Ancestors. In fine, he entail'd upon his Son all

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the Miseries that beset him; and left in the Minds of his Subjects those Sparks of Discontent, that broke out some Years after into a Flame of Civil War, which ended in the Ruin of King *Charles*, and of the Monarchy with him.

This Prince, though his Father and Mother were esteemed the handsomest

His Character. Couple of the Age they liv'd in, was himself but a homely Person, nor in any of his Features was to be found the least Resemblance of the Beautiful *Mary Stuart*, or Lord *Darnly*. No Prince had a more liberal Education: and it could not well be otherwise, having the celebrated *Buchanan* for his Tutor. He was acquainted with most Parts of Learning, but valued himself upon his Knowledge in Divinity above the rest; in which he writ some Things that were much esteem'd at that Time. He writ and spoke well, but in a Style that border'd too much upon Pedantry, which was indeed the common Fault of that Age.

As to his Religion, notwithstanding all his Advances to the Pope and Papists upon the Account, first of the *Spanish*, and afterward the *French Match*, he was really Calvinist in most Points, but that of Church-Government; witness some of his Books, and his Zeal for the Synod of *Dort*. But as to Episcopacy, he shew'd so much Learning and Reading in his Arguments for it at the Conference of *Hampton-Court*, that Archbishop *Whitgift* said, *He was verily persuaded the King spake by the Spirit of God.*

Notwithstanding his Mother was dethroned to make room for him, and consequently he could have no Right, but the Consent of the People while she lived; yet upon all Occasions he was fond of being thought to have a Divine Right to the Crown. His Courage was much suspected; and some would ascribe his want of it to the Fright his Mother was in upon the Death of her Favourite *David Rizzio*. The Troubles of his Youth were various, occasion'd chiefly by Factions of Great Men that strove who should

should have the Management of him: but when he came of Age, he sought all Occasions to be reveng'd upon such of them as were living, and the Posterity of those that were dead. *Goury's* Conspiracy in it self so improbable a thing, and attended with so many inconsistent Circumstances, was disbeliev'd at the Time it was said to have been attempted: and Posterity has swallow'd down for a Truth, what their Ancestors took for a mere Fiction.

He came to the Crown of *England* by Lineal Descent, and the Verbal Designation of Queen *Elizabeth* upon her Death-Bed. And the Conspiracy wherewith *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* were charged to set him by the *English* Throne, was no less Mystery than that of *Goury's* had been before. The only uncontroverted Treason that happen'd in his Reign, was the *Gunpowder Plot*; and yet the Letter to The Lord *Monteagle*, that pretended to discover it, was but a Contrivance of his own; the thing being discover'd to him before, by *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, through the Means of Monsieur *de Rhony*, after Duke of *Sully*. King *Henry* paid dear for his friendship to King *James*; and there is Reason to believe that it was upon this Account, among others, that a Party of the Church of *Rome* employ'd *Ravillac* to murder that Great Man.

King *James* was equally happy and unhappy in every one of his Children. Prince *Henry* was the Darling of mankind, and a Youth of vast Hopes, and wonderful Virtues; but was too soon Man, to be long-liv'd. The Duke of *Sully* being in *England* to congratulate King *James* upon his Accession to the Crown, laid the Foundation of a strick Friendship betwixt his Master and Prince *Henry*; which was afterwards carried on by Letters and Messages, till the Death of that

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that King. Tho' 'tis a Secret to this Day what was the real Design of all those vast Preparations that were made by *Henry* the Fourth for some Time before his Death, yet certain it is, those Preparations were such as kept all *Europe* in Suspence: and I have seen some Papers that make it more than probable that Prince *Henry* was not only acquainted with the Secret, but was engag'd in the Design. But whatever it was, it prov'd abortive, by the Murder of that excellent King just at the time when it was to have been declar'd, his Army being ready to march. Prince *Henry* surviv'd him but two Years and dy'd universally lamented. The World is very often willing to attribute the untimely Death of Princes to unfair Practices; and it was the general Rumour at that Time, that this Prince was poison'd. Whatever was in it, there is yet in print a *Sermon* preach'd at St. *James's* upon the Dissolution of his Household, that boldly insinuated some such Thing: and also Sir *Francis Bacon*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, in his Speech at the Trial of the Earl of *Somerset*, had some Reflections upon the Intimacy of that Lord with Sir *Thomas Overbury*, which seems to point that Way; inso much that there were several Expressions left out of the printed Copy that were in the Speech. But after all, there is an Account in print of what was observable upon the opening of Prince *Henry's* Body, under the hand of Sir *Theodore Mayerne*, and five other Physicians, from which there can be no Inference drawn, that he was poison'd.

Appendix,
Numb. 5.

The second of King *James's* Children was the Princess *Elizabeth*, married to the Elector Palatine, who was afterwards to his Ruin elected King of *Bohemia*. It is hard to say whether the Virtues of this Lady, or her Misfortunes, were greater: for as she was one of the best of women, she may be likewise reckoned in the Number of the most unfortunate. King *James* thought to retrieve his Son.

Son-in-law's lost Fortune by the Way of Treaty ; but in that, and in every thing else, the House of *Austria* outwitted him : so that the poor Prince Palatine gain'd nothing by his Alliance with *England*, but the hard fate to be abandon'd by those whose Honour and Interest it was to support him. Nor had the Crown of *England* any share in the Honour of re-establishing the Palatinate Family, which happen'd thirty Years after ; for at the Time of the Treaty of *Munster*, when that Matter was settled, K. *Charles* the First was so far from being in a Condition to mediate for his Friends, that he was himself a Prisoner to those very Enemies, that in a few Months after the signing of that Treaty, took away his Life: Of whom, being the youngest of K. *James's* Children, and of his Misfortunes, there will be too much Occasion to speak in the following Sheets.

But to return to K. *James* ; as he was equally happy and unhappy in his Children, he was for the most Part unhappy in his Favourites ; being oblig'd to abandon one upon the Account of *Overbury's* Murder ; and coming to hate another the latter Part of his Life, as much as he had ever loved him before.

In order to obtain of the Emperor the Restoration of his Son-in-Law, he was wheedled into that inglorious Counsel of sending the Prince into *Spain* for a Match that was either never design'd him, or too late: and it was more owing to *Philip* the Third's Generosity, than to K. *James's* Politick's, that he ever saw *England* again. To this Friendship with *Spain* he sacrific'd his own Honour, with the Life of that excellent Person Sir *Walter Raleigh*. This Gentleman, after fourteen Years Imprisonment in the *Tower*, upon the Account of a mysterious Treason, during which Time he did oblige the World with one of the best Histories that ever was writ, came to be set at Liberty, and was sent with ample Commission, which

The Spanish
Match.

was judg'd by Lawyers equivalent to a Pardon, to discover and take Possession of new Countries and Mines in *America*. He gave King *James* the Plan of his Design, and of the Place he was to land at, which prov'd the Ruin of that Enterprize; for before he could get ready to sail from *England*, the Court of *Spain* had a Copy of it, which Sir *Walter Raleigh* found to his sad Experience was got to *America* before him, and had thereby enabled the *Spaniards* to baffle the Attempt. At his Return, to please the *Spanish* Ambassador, who had got a mighty ascendant over King *James*, this last of Queen *Elizabeth's* Favourites lost his Head upon the former Sentence of Treason, there being no other Way to reach it.

All our Histories have mention'd at K. *James's* large the Business of the *Spanish* Match, but few, or none, King *James's* Conduct in that of the *Palatinate*; which can hardly be express'd under a softer Name than one continued Infatuation on his Part.

The Account of this Matter writ with the greatest Exactness, though as favourably for King *James* as was possible, by the learned *Spanhemius* in his History of *Louise Juliane* Electrice Palatine, Daughter of *William* Prince of *Orange*, and Mother to the King of *Bohemia*, who out-liv'd her Son, and was one of the greatest Patterns of Virtue that any Age has produc'd. Referring the Reader to the Book itself, I shall only mention a few Things out of it.

To make this Book and the Matter of the *Palatinate* better understood, 'tis to be remembred, That the Elector, after his Marriage with King *James's* Daughter, was elected King of *Bohemia*, as the most powerful Prince, at that Time, of the Empire, to oppose the House of *Austria*, and protect the Liberty of that Kingdom. He was scarce crown'd, but he lost both his new Kingdom, and his ancient Inheritance of the *Palatinate*, by the Bat-

tle of *Prague*; where his Army was entirely defeated, and he himself forced to fly, leaving *Bohemia* and the *Palatinate* both a Prey to the Emperor.

Though the Parliament of *England* was zealous to restore the Palatine Family by force of Arms, as the most effectual Means to do it, and had offer'd great Supplies to that Purpose; yet King *James* was so lull'd asleep with the Insinuations of *Gundomar*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, that he could be brought to no other Methods but those of Treaty. While he was sending one Embassy after another to *Vienna* and *Brussels*, the poor King of *Bohemia* seeing how little was to be expected from them, ventur'd to try his Fortune once more in the *Palatinate*; and with the Assistance of Count *Mansfield* and the Duke of *Brunswick*, beat the Imperialists in several Rencounters, and repossest'd himself of several Towns. But when he was in a fair Way to be Master of the whole, he was obliged to retire, and disband his Army, merely to please King *James*, who was possess'd of this wild Notion, *That to lay down his Arms, was the only way to get good Terms from the Emperor*. Upon which a Treaty was set a-foot at *Brussels*, where King *James* consented by way of Preliminary, That his Son-in-Law should not only waive the Title of the King of *Bohemia*, but that of Elector Palatine, which had not hitherto been question'd, and which the poor Prince was forc'd to comply with.

This Treaty, after a great many other Mortifications put upon the Palatine Family, and upon King *James* himself, was by a Contrivance of the Emperor transferr'd to *Ratisbon*, and came to nothing at last, as all the other Treaties had done. But while the Imperialists were thus amusing King *James* with Terms of Accommodation; and that the King of *Bohemia* had disarm'd himself to please his Father-in-Law, *Heidelberg*, and all the other Places he had recovered before, together with the rest of the *Palatinate*, were all seiz'd by the Emperor, except only

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Frankendale, which continued to make a vigorous Resistance. It would look like a Dream, to imagine that King *James* should oblige his Son-in-Law to quit this Place also, the only one left him of his whole Country, and that as the only effectual Way to get back all the rest: Yet 'tis true he did so, and that at the very Time that the Emperor had actually transferr'd the Electoral Dignity from the Palatine Family to the House of *Bavaria*.

For *Frankendale* being a Town then of great Strength, and the *Spaniards* lying expos'd to the daily Excursions of its Garrison, they found a Way to trick King *James* out of it in this Manner. *Gundomar* represents to him, That it being the only Place left in the *Palatinate*, it could not hold out much longer; and that there was but one Way to save it for his Son-in-Law, which was, to put it into the Hands of the Governor of *Flanders* for some Time, till Things might be brought to an Accommodation by the Treaty then on Foot; and if there should happen any Interruption in it, then the Town should be render'd back to King *James*, for the use of his Son-in-Law, in the same Condition, together with a free Passage for fifteen hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse, to take Possession of it, and six Months Provision.

King *James* being willing to do any Thing rather than break with *Spain*, agreed to this strange Proposition, and *Frankendale* was delivered up to the Governor of *Flanders* for fifteen Months, under these Conditions. But the Treaty being once more broke off, and the Time elaps'd, when King *James* demanded that *Frankendale* should be restored, it was told him, That he might have the Town; but by the Terms of the Agreement, he was to have a Passage for his Troops through the *Spanish Low-Countries*; but that there was no Article, That he should have a Passage through any other Places that were in their Possession in *Germany*. And thus King *James* was once

more egregiously impos'd upon; for there was no Way to come at the Town, but through Parts of *Germany* that were in the Hands of *Spain*: and so the *Spaniards* continued Masters of *Frankendale*.

When several other Princes were some Time after upon entering into a League for Restitution of the *Palatinate*, and the House of *Austria* was beginning to doubt the Success, *Gundomar* play'd another Engine to break their Measures, by proposing a Match with the Infanta of *Spain* for the Prince of *Wales*, as the easiest and surest Way to restore the *Palatine* Family: which, like all the rest, was only to amuse King *James*, and was equally unsuccessful.

It were too long to give the Detail of King *James's* Conduct in this Affair, which was all of a Piece. The Author sums up the Ills that attended it, in this, That thereby the *Protestant Religion* was entirely rooted out of *Bohemia*, the *Electoral Dignity* transferr'd from the *Palatine* Family, the *Palatinate* it self lost, the *Liberty* of *Germany* overthrown; and, which he mentions with a sensible Regret, the famous *Library* of *Heidelburgh* was carried to *Rome*, to the irreparable Prejudice of Learning.

So that *Gundomar* had good Reason to say, in one of his Letters to the Duke of *Lerma*, printed in the History of that Duke's Life, That he had lulled King *James* so fast asleep, that he hoped neither the Cries of his Daughter nor her Children, nor the repeated Sollicitations of his Parliament and Subjects in their Behalf, should be able to awaken him.

There are two Passages more very observable in this Author. The Court of *Spain* finding King *James* had broke off the *Spanish* Match, and was brought to see how egregiously he had been abus'd by it; they ventur'd upon a bold Attempt to trouble his Affairs, by whispering in his Ears some Things to make him Jealous of his Son: And that a good while after, when King *Charles* and his Parliament were entering upon vigorous Measures to e-

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spouse the Palatine Cause, they found Ways to sow Divisions between him and his People, that in progress of Time broke out into a Civil War. The latter needs no Commentary; and the former is sufficiently explain'd, by

Hacket's *Life of Bp. Williams.* what a late Author has writ in the Life of Bishop *Williams*, concerning that Prelate's being instrumental in making up some secret Differences betwixt King *James* and

his Son the Prince of *Wales*, a little before King *James's* Death. *Spanhemius* sums up what relates to this Affair, with this Remark, *That never Prince was more obliged to a Sister, than King Charles the First was to the Queen of Bohemia; since it was only the Consideration of her and her Children, who were then the next Heirs after him to the Crown of England, that prevail'd with the Court of Spain to permit him to see England again.*

As in most foreign Transactions King *James* was unhappy; so more Particularly in the Difference between Pope *Paul V.* and the *Venetians*. There appear'd at that Time a wonderful disposi-

In the Interdict of Venice.

tion in that State to work a Reformation in the Church, and throw off the Papal Yoke. In order to advance it, King *James* dispatch'd Sir *Henry Wotton* his Ambassador to *Venice*: and hearing that *Spain* had declared for the Pope, he declared for the *Venetians*; and acquainted *Justiniani*, their Ambassador in *England*, That he would not only assist them with all the Forces of his Kingdom, but engage all his Allies in their Defence. At Sir *Henry Wotton's* Arrival, the Breach between the Pope and the Republick was brought very near a Crisis; so that a total Separation was expected not only from the Court, but the Church of *Rome*; which was set on by the Learned *Padre Paulo*, and the Seven Divines of the State, with much Zeal, and conducted with as great Prudence. The Ambassador at his Audience offer'd all possible Assistance in his

Master's

Master's Name, and accus'd the Pope and Papacy of being the chief Authors of all the Mischiefs in Christendom. This was received with great Deference and Respect to King *James*: And when the Pope's Nuncio objected, that K. *James* was not a Catholick, and so was not to be relied upon; the Doge took him up briskly, and told him, *That the King of England believ'd in Jesus Christ, but he did not know in whom some others believ'd.*

King *James* had sent with *Wotton* his Premonition to all Christian Princes and States, translated into *Latin*, to be presented to the Senate; which *Padre Paulo* and the other Divines press'd might be done at his first Audience; telling him, they were confident it would have a very good Effect. The Ambassador could not be prevail'd with; alledging he had positive Orders to wait till St. *James's* Day, which was not far off. This Conceit of presenting King *James's* Book on St. *James's* Day, spoil'd all; for before that Day came, the Difference was made up, and that happy Opportunity lost. So that when he had his Audience on St. *James's* Day, and had presented the Book, all the answer he got, was, *That they thank'd the King of England for his good Will, but they were now reconcil'd to the Pope, and that therefore they were now Resolv'd not to admit of any Change in their Religion, according to their Agreement with the Court of Rome.* How little Reputation he acquir'd in the Matter of the *Venetian* Interdict, appears yet more plainly in this, That in all the numerous Collections we have of Letters that pass'd on that Subject between the Cardinals of *Joyeuse* and *Perron*, the Marquiss *de Fresnes* and *Henry IV.* there is not the least Notice taken of King *James* or his Embassy.

It may not be impertinent in this Place, to say something of that Convocation that was held in the beginning of this King's Reign; which had never been taken Notice of in History, if it were not for the use that was made
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of it in our late Debates about the Lawfulness of the Oaths to his present Majesty. This Convocation goes under the Name of *Overal's* Convocation, and has been of late Years often mentioned in print upon that Account. And since a very Learned Divine

Dr. Sherlock. has told us upon a solemn Occasion, That it was the Canons of this Convocation that first enlightned his Eyes, and persuad-

ed him of the Lawfulness of the Oaths to his Majesty; I shall only take Notice of a few Things about them.

'Tis very probable, that this Convocation was call'd, to clear some Doubt that King *James* might have had, about the Lawfulness of the *Hollanders* their throwing off the Monarchy of *Spain*, and their withdrawing, for good and all, their Allegiance to that Crown: Which was the great Matter then in Agitation in most Courts of Christendom.

It appears plainly by some of those Canons, that the high-flown Notions of Prerogative and Absolute Obedience, which came afterwards into Fashion, were not much known at that Time: at least, the Clergy were not of that Opinion. 'Tis true, this was the first Time that the Distinction of a King *de jure* and *de facto* was ever mention'd as a Point of Divinity, or a Doctrine of the Church: though it had been taken Notice of before, and that but once, as a Matter of Law, in an Act of Parliament of *Henry VII.* But these Canons did never receive the Royal Approbation, and therefore are in the same Case as if they had never been.

King *James* thought these Points too nice to be much touch'd upon, and was highly displeas'd with the Members of that Convocation for meddling in Matters which he thought were without their Sphere. Thereupon he writ that angry Letter to Dr. *Abbot* (afterwards Bishop of *Sarum*) the Original of which it was my Fortune to fall upon, and to publish upon another Occasion. 'Tis hoped the Reader will not be displeas'd to read it again: And it runs thus.

Good

Good Doctor Abbot,

I Cannot abstain to give you my Judgment of your Proceedings in your Convocation, as you call it; and both as Rex in folio, and unus Gregis in Ecclesia, I am doubly concerned. My Title to the Crown no body calls in question, but they that neither love you nor me; and you guess whom I mean. All that you and your Brethren have said of a King in Possession (for that Word I tell you, is no worse than that you make use of in your Canon) concerns not me at all; I am the next Heir, and the Crown is mine by all Rights you can name, but that of Conquest; and Mr. Solicitor has sufficiently express'd my own Thoughts concerning the Nature of Kingship in general, and concerning the Nature of it, ut in mea persona: And I believe you were all of his Opinion; at least, none of you said ought contrary to it, at the Time he spake to you from me. But you know all of you, as I think, that my Reason of calling you together, was to give your Judgments how far a Christian, and a Protestant King, may concur to assist his Neighbours to shake off their Obedience to their once Sovereign, upon the account of Oppression, Tyranny, or what else you like to name it. In the late Queen's Time this Kingdom was very free in assisting the Hollanders both with Arms and Advice. And none of your Coat ever told me, that any scrupled about it in her Reign. Upon my coming to England, you may know that it came from some of your selves to raise Scruples about this Matter. And albeit I have often told my Mind concerning Jus Regum in Subditos, as in May last in the Star-Chamber, upon the occasion of Hales his Pamphlet, yet I never took any notice of these Scruples, till the Affairs of Spain and Holland forc'd me to it. All my Neighbours call on me to concur in the Treaty between Holland and Spain; and the Honour of the Nation will not suffer the Hollanders to be abandoned, especially after so much Money and Men spent in their Quarrel: Therefore I

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was of the mind to call my Clergy together, to satisfy not so much me, as the World about us, of the Justness of my owning the Hollanders at this Time. This I needed not have done; and you have forced me to say, I wish I had not. You have dipped too deep in what all Kings reserve among the Arcana Imperii. And whatever Aversion you may profess against God's being the Author of Sin, you have stumbled upon the Threshold of that Opinion, in saying upon the Matter, that even Tyranny is God's Authority, and should be reverenc'd as such. If the King of Spain should return to claim his old pontifical Right to my Kingdom, you leave me to seek for others to fight for it: For you tell us upon the Matter beforehand, his Authority is God's Authority, if he prevail.

Thus far the Secretary's Hand, as I take it; the rest follows in the King's own Hand thus: *Mr. Doctor, I have no Time to express my Mind farther in this thorny Business. I shall give you my Orders about it by Mr. Solicitor; and until then meddle no more in it, for they are Edge Tools, or rather like that Weapon that's said to cut with the one Edge, and cure with the other. I commit you to God's Protection, good Doctor Abbot, and rest*

Your good Friend,

James R.

To have done with King *James*; it was said, that he divided his Time betwixt his Standish, his Bottle; and his Hunting. The last had his fair Weather, the two former, his dull and cloudy; and therefore that it was no wonder his Writings were so variable, and that after he had pleaded for Witchcraft, and the Pope's being Antichrist, *Somerfet's* Affair and the *Spanish* Match cur'd him of both. After having enjoy'd, for the most part of his Life, a firm Health, he dy'd of a Quartan Ague in the fifty ninth Year of his Age, and with such suspicious Circumstances,

cumstances, as gave occasion of Enquiry into the Manner of his death, in the two first Parliaments that were call'd by his Son; all which came to nothing, by reason of their sudden Dissolutions.

The Reign of King Charles the First.

King *Charles* the First came to the Crown under all the Disadvantages that have been mention'd; and yet the Nation might have hop'd that their Condition would be mended under a Prince of so much Virtue, as indeed he was, if the Seeds of Discontent, which were sown in his Father's Time, had not every Day taken deeper Root, and acquir'd new Growth, thro' the ill Management of his Ministers, rather than any wilful Errors of his own.

Some of them drove so fast, that it was no wonder the Wheels and Chariot broke; and it was *Bishop Laud.* in great part to the indiscreet Zeal of a mitred Head, that had got an ascendant over his Master's Conscience and Counsels, that both the Monarchy and Hierarchy ow'd afterwards their Fall.

The Division betwixt Arch-Bishop Abbot and Bishop Laud.

To trace this Matter a little higher: There arose in the preceding Reign two opposite Parties in the Church, which became now more than ever exasperated against each other; the one headed by Archbishop *Abbot*, and the other by Bishop *Laud*. *Abbot* was a Person of wonderful Temper and Moderation, and in all his Conduct shew'd an Unwillingness to stretch the Act of Uniformity beyond what was absolutely necessary for the Peace of the Church, or the Prerogative of the Crown, any further than conduc'd to the Good of the State. Being not well turn'd for a Court, tho' otherwise of considerable Learning and genteel Education, he either could not or would not stoop to the Humour of the Times; and now and then, by an unseasonable Stiffness, gave occasion to his

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his Enemies to represent him as not well inclin'd to the Prerogative, or too much addicted to a popular Interest, and therefore not fit to be employ'd in Matters of Government. Upon the other hand, Bishop *Laud*, as he was a man of greater Learning, and yet greater Ambition and natural Parts, so he understood nicely the Art of pleasing a Court; and finding no surer Way to raise himself to the first Dignities of the Church, than by acting a quite contrary Part to that of Archbishop *Abbot*, he went into every Thing that seem'd to favour the Prerogative of the Crown, or enforce an Absolute Obedience upon the Subject.

The King's urgent Necessities, and the Backwardness of the Parliament to supply them, had forced him upon unwarrantable Methods of raising Money; and the readiness the Roman Catholicks express'd to assist him in his Wants, did beget in him at first a Tenderness towards them, and afterwards a Trust and Confidence in them: which was unhappily mistaken by his other Subjects, as if he inclined to their Religion.

Among other Means of raising Money, that of Loan was fallen upon; which met with great Difficulties, and was generally taken to be illegal. One *Sibthorp*, an obscure Person, in a Sermon preach'd at the Assizes at *Northampton*, would make his Court by asserting not only the Lawfulness of this Way of Imposing Money by Loan, but that it was the Indispensible Duty of the Subject to comply with it. At the same Time Dr. *Manwaring*, another Divine, preach'd two Sermons before the King at *Whitehall*, in which he advanc'd these Doctrines, viz. *That the King is not bound to observe the Laws of the Realm, concerning the Subjects Rights and Liberties; but that his Royal Word and Command in imposing Loans and Taxes without Consent of Parliament, does oblige the Subject's Conscience, upon pain of eternal Damnation. That those who refus'd to pay this Loan, did offend against the Law of God*

and became guilty of Impiety, Disloyalty, and Rebellion. And that the Authority of Parliaments is not necessary for raising of Aids and Subsidies.

Every body knew *Abbot* was averſe to ſuch Doctrines; and to ſeek an Advantage againſt him, *Sibthorp's* Sermon, with a Dedication to the King, was ſent him by Order of his Maſteſty to liſenſe. *Abbot* refus'd, and gave his Reaſons in Writing; which Biſhop *Laud* answer'd and with his own Hand liſenſ'd both *Sibthorp's* and *Manwaring's* Sermons. Upon this Archbiſhop *Abbot* was confin'd to his Country Houſe, and ſuſpended from his Function; the Adminiſtration of which was committed to Biſhop *Laud*, and ſome others of his Recommendation.

Archbiſhop *Abbot* died in diſgrace, and was ſucceeded in the See of *Canterbury* by Biſhop *Laud*, while in the mean Time Things went on from bad to worſe, and haſtened to a *Criſis*. The two firſt Parliaments King *Charles* had call'd preſſing him hard for Redreſs of Grievances, and pushing on the Reſentments begun in the preceding Reign; he was prevail'd with not only to diſſolve them, but to leave the Nation without Parliaments for twelve Years together; and all this contrary to the Advice of ſome of the beſt and wiſeſt Men about him, who foreſaw the ill Conſequences that might follow, if ever any unlucky Juncture of Affairs ſhould neceſſitate him to call one.

Such a Juncture fell out, and the worſt that *The Riſe of King Charles's Troubles.* could be: the Manner thus: The *Scots* had been of a long Time ſour'd by the Encroachments they ſaid were made upon their Rights and Liberties, and particularly in the Matter of Church Government. Archbiſhop *Laud's* Zeal for an Uniformity between the two Nations in Point of Liturgy, prov'd the fatal Torch that put the two Kingdoms into a Flame. And it was the ſooner kindled, there being ſo much Fuel laid up for many Years, that the leaſt Spark was enough to ſet fire to the Pile.

In

In the Year 1637, the *Scots* had not only in a tumultuous Manner refus'd the Liturgy that was sent them from *England*, of Archbishop *Laud's* composing; but had afterwards assum'd to themselves the Liberty and Power of holding a General Assembly of their Church, and in it to abolish Episcopacy, and do several other Things that were judg'd inconsistent with the Duty of Subjects: upon which they were declar'd *Rebels*, and King *Charles* thought his Honour was concern'd to reduce them to Obedience by the Sword.

Instead of venturing to call a Parliament, to enable him to prosecute this Design, he was necessitated to levy Money another Way. Great Sums were rais'd by Loan and Benevolence, to which the Roman Catholicks and the Clergy of *Laud's* Faction contributed most. The King thus supplied, march'd to the North with a gallant Army; and the *Scots* came as far as the Borders in a Posture of Defence. To prevent Matters coming to Extremity, the *Scots* presented his Majesty with their humble Supplication and Remonstrance, setting forth *their inviolable Fidelity to the Crown; and that they desir'd nothing more, but the peaceable Enjoyment of their Religion and Liberties; and that all Things might be determin'd and settled by a free Parliament, and General Assembly.* At length, through the Intercession of the moderate Party about the King, and some of the highest Rank in both Kingdoms, his Majesty was pleas'd to comply with the Desires of the *Scots*, by a solemn Pacification sign'd in View of both Armies near *Berwick* in *June* 1638.

This Treaty was but short-liv'd, and but ill observ'd on either side. The same Men that counsell'd the King to the first, push'd him on to a second War against the *Scots*. Parliaments had been now discontinu'd for some Years together, and there appear'd no great Inclination in the King

to

to call any more, if this emergent Occasion had not fallen out. But his pressing Necessities, and this new War, oblig'd him once more to try the Affections of his People in a Parliamentary Way.

Accordingly a Parliament meets in *April 1640.* at the opening of which the King acquainted them *with the Affronts he had received from the Scots, and demanded a Supply to reduce them to their Duty by force of Arms.* Both Houses shew'd a willingness to relieve the King's Wants, and offer'd him a Considerable Supply; but with this Condition, *That their Grievances might be first redress'd;* which had swell'd up to a considerable Bulk since the last Dissolution. Not only so, but the *Scots* had Friends enough in the Parliament to hinder any great Matter to be done against them; and the greater part both of Lords and Commons were but little inclin'd to a War of Archbishop *Laud's* kindling.

The King being thus disappointed, dissolv'd this Parliament as he had done the rest, when they had scarce sat a Month; and made what Shifts he could to raise a new Army against the *Scots*. They upon the other Hand being resolv'd not to be behind in their Preparations, enter'd into *England* with a numerous Army, compos'd for the most part of Veteran Officers and Troops, that had serv'd in *Germany* under *Gustavus Adolphus*; and taking *Berwick* and *Newcastle*, push'd their way as far as *Durham*.

King *Charles* came in Person to *York*, and there found himself environ'd with perplexing Difficulties on all Hands: the Nobility and Gentry that attended him, express'd on all Occasions their dislike of the Cause, and the War they were engag'd in. The *Scots* stood firm to their Ground, being flush'd with Success: And the King was follow'd from the South with Petitions from the City of *London*, from several Counties, and from a considerable Number of Lords, desiring him to call a Parliament, as the only effectual Means to quiet the Minds of the People, and compose the present War without Bloodshed.

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To extricate himself out of this Labyrinth, King *Charles* summon'd the *Great Council of Peers* to meet at *York*, to consult what was fit to be done in this Juncture; who advis'd him unanimously to enter into a Treaty with the *Scots* at *Rippon*, and to summon a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*; with both which Advices the King comply'd and immediatly issued out Writs for a Parliament to sit down in *November* 1640. and adjourn'd the Treaty with the *Scots* to *London*.

No Age ever produc'd greater Men than those that sat in this Parliament: They had sufficient Abilities and Inclinations to have render'd the King and their Country happy, if *England* had not been through a Chain of concurring Accidents ripen'd for Destruction.

At their sitting down, a Scene of Grievances under which the Nation had long groan'd, was laid open, and all Topicks made use of to paint them out in liveliest Colours. 1641.

The many Cruelties and Illegal Practices of the Star-Chamber, and High-Commission Court, that had alienated Peoples Minds from the Hierarchy, were now insisted on, to throw down those two Arbitrary Tribunals; and with them, in some Time after, the Bishops out of the House of Peers, and at length Episcopacy it self out of the Church. It was not a few of either House, but indeed all the great Patriots, that concurred at first to make Enquiry into the Grievances of this Reign. Sir *Edward Hyde*, afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*; the Lord *Digby*; the Lord *Falkland*; the Lord *Capell*; Mr. *Grimstone*, who was chosen afterwar'd Speaker of the House of Commons that brought in King *Charles* the Second, and was Master of the Rolls; Mr. *Holles*, since Lord *Holles*, all which suffer'd afterwards on the King's side; and in general, most of those that took the King's part in the succeeding War, were the

the Men that appear'd with the greatest Zeal for the Redress of Grievances, and made the sharpest Speeches upon those Subjects. The Intentions of those Gentlemen were certainly noble and just, and tended to the equal Advantage of King and People; but the Fate of *England* urg'd on its own Ruin step by step, till an open Rupture between the King and Parliament made the Gap too wide ever to be made up again.

Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Strafford*, and Dr. *Laud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had too great a share in the Ministry, to escape being censur'd, and they were the first that felt the Effects of a Popular Hatred. These two Gentlemen, and *James Duke of Hamilton*, first advis'd King *Charles* to call this Parliament; and all three fell by it, though not at the same Time.

The Earl of *Strafford* was a Gentleman of extraordinary Parts, a great Orator, and yet a greater Statesman: He made a considerable Figure in the first three Parliaments of King *Charles*; and no Man appear'd with greater Zeal against Ship-Money, Tunnage and Poundage, and other Taxes illegally impos'd upon the Subject. The Court brought him off, and preferr'd him to great Honours and Places, which lost him his former Friends, and made the Breach irreconcilable. There had been a long and intimate Friendship betwixt Mr. *Pym* and him, and they had gone hand in hand in every Thing in the House of Commons. But when Sir *Thomas Wentworth* was upon making his Peace with the Court, he sent to *Pym* to meet him alone at *Greenwich*; where he began in a set Speech to sound Mr. *Pym* about the Dangers they were like to run by the Courses they were in; and what Advantages they might have, if they would but listen to some Offers would probably be made them from the Court. *Pym* understanding his Drift, stopt him short with this Expression, *You need not use all this Art to tell me that*

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you have a mind to leave us : But remember, what I tell you, you are going to be undone ; and remember, that tho' you leave us now ; I will never leave you while your Head is upon your shoulders. He was as good as his Words, for it was *Pym* that first accus'd him of high Treason in the House of Commons, he carry'd up his Impeachment to the House of Lords, and was the chief Manager of his Tryal, and Bill of Attainder.

There never was a more solemn Tryal than that of the Earl of *Strafford*, whether we consider the Accusers or the Person accus'd, the Accusation or the Defence. As in every Thing else, so in this more particularly, he express'd a wonderful Presence of Mind, and a vast Compass of Thought, with such nervous and moving Flights of Eloquence, as came nothing short, of the most celebrated Pieces of Antiquity. This did manifestly appear from his summing up the long Answer he made *ex tempore* to every one of the Articles against him, with this pathetic Conclusion: *My Lords, saith he, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the Interest of these dear pledges a Saint in Heaven hath left me.* At this Word he stopp'd, pointing to his Children that stood by him, and dropt some Tears; then went on; *What I forfeit for my self is nothing, but that my Indiscretion should extend to my Posterity, woundeth me to the very Soul. You will pardon my Infirmary ; something I should have added, but am not able, therefore let it pass.* And now, my Lords; *for my self, I have been by the Blessing of God taught, That the Afflictions of this present Life are not to be compar'd to that eternal weight of glory which shall be reveal'd hereafter : And so, my Lords, even so, with all Tranquillity of Mind, I freely submit my self to your Judgment ; and whether that Judgment be of Life or Death, Te Deum laudamus.*

'Tis believ'd, that King *Charles's* appearing so heartily for him, did him no good with the House of Commons; and 'tis confidently said, that he wrote his Majesty a Letter from the *Tower*, praying him not to intercede

in his Affair; and that his not seeming to be concern'd in it would be the best Method to calm the Rage of his Enemies. But notwithstanding this Caution, the King came to the House of Lords, and sending for the House of Commons, made a warm Speech in favour of the Earl; which some of his Friends took for so good News, that they went strait from *Westminster* to give him an Account of it: *Strafford* receiv'd it as his Doom, and told them, *The King's Kindness had ruin'd him, and that he had Little else now to do, but to prepare himself for Death.*

As King *Charles* was mistaken in his Intercession for the Earl of *Strafford*, so was the Earl himself much more, in neglecting the Advice of his Friends against his coming up to this Parliament. It was easy to foresee there was something design'd to his Prejudice, and he had fair Warning given him not to come up at that Time, at least till he saw how Matters would go. He had two plausible Pretences for his Absence, if he had pleas'd to make use of them; the necessity of his Presence in *Ireland*, where he was Lord Lieutenant; or in the *North of England*, where he was Lieutenant General of the Army that had been rais'd against the *Scots*. But being too confident, not only of the King's Favour and his Interest among the Lords, but of the good Effects an humble honey Speech might have with the House of Commons (to use his own Words) he came late at Night to Town, and took his Place next Morning in the House of Lords, with an Intention to ask leave that very Day to go down to the House of Commons, to clear himself of the Misrepresentations he lay under.

Mr. *Pym* hearing he was come, mov'd to have the Doors lock'd and the Keys laid upon the Table; lest any Member should give Intelligence of what they were upon: Which being done, he accus'd the Earl of *Strafford* of High Treason, and an Impeachment was immediately drawn up, and agreed to by the House. In the mean

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Time it fell out unluckily for the Earl of *Strafford*, that at his coming into the House of Lords, they were upon a Debate that took them up a considerable Time; and while he was waiting till that was over, the Commons came up with their Impeachment.

As the Earl was strangely unfortunate in most Things that beset him in the latter Period of his Life, he was no less in the very Opinion of the King himself, and those others that did all they could to save his Life; For the King in the Speech he made to both Houses in his Favour, was pleas'd to say, *That he did not think my Lord Strafford fit hereafter to serve him or the Commonwealth in any Place of Trust, no not so much as that of a Constable.* And the Lord Digby, in the speech he made in the House of Commons against the Bill of Attainder, for which, among other Things, he was forc'd to fly, treats the Earl in yet much harsher Terms: *The Name of the Earl of Strafford* (says he) *is a Name of Hatred in the present Age by his Practices, and fit to be made a Terror to future Ages by his Punishment. I am still the same in my Opinions and Affections as to the Earl of Strafford* (continues he after) *I believe him to be the most dangerous Minister, the most insupportable to free Subjects that can be character'd. I believe his Practices in themselves as high, as tyrannical, as any Subject ever ventur'd upon; and the Malignity of them highly aggravated by those rare Qualities of his, whereof God has given him the Use, but the Devil the Application. In a word* (adds the Lord Digby) *I believe him still that Grand Apostate to the Commonwealth, who must not expect to be pardon'd in this World, till he be dispatch'd into the other: And yet let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my Hand must not be at that Dispatch.* Thus far a Nobleman that was intirely in the King's Interest, and for his Zeal to the Royal Cause became the most obnoxious to the Parliament.

After all, there seems to have been some Mistake about the main Article in his Accusation, of his *advising*

the King to bring over the Army from Ireland to reduce England; which contributed more to the undoing of this Minister, than all the rest: For the Proof of this Article being only Words contain'd in Mr. Secretary Vane's

Notes (which are plac'd in the Appendix) Appendix, and said to be spoke at the Council-Table, Numb. 6. they do naturally refer to the Kingdom of

Scotland and not to England; the Thing then under Debate, being how to reduce Scotland, And tho' Secretary Vane swore to the Truth of his Notes, yet it was after such a Manner, as left the Matter still more dubious: And tho' he had sworn more positively, it was but the Testimony of one witness, and that contradicted by four Lords, who were then present in Council, and who declar'd upon their Honours, That they did not remember they heard the Earl of Strafford speak these Words.

I cannot leave the Earl of *Strafford*, without taking Notice of a silly Mistake that has gain'd some Credit in the World, as if the Bill of Attainder against him was of so extraordinary a Nature, and so much out of all the known Methods of Justice, that the Legislators themselves were oblig'd to insert a Clause into the Body of it, *That it should never be drawn into Precedent.* Whereas that Clause does expressly relate only to Judges in inferior Courts; and is conceiv'd in the following Words: *Provided, That no Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or interpret any Act or Thing to be Treason, nor hear or determine any Treason, in any other Manner than he or they should or ought to have done, before the making of this Act.*

As Archbishop *Laud* was nothing inferior to the Earl of *Strafford* in Parts, and much his superior in Learning; so it is as hard to determine which of the two made a nobler Defence at their Tryal. The Fate of the former has been the same with that of most great Men, to be represented to Posterity in Extremes; for we have nothing

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writ of him, But what's either Panegyrick, or Satire, rather than History.

That Archbishop *Laud* was brought to his Tryal, and found Guilty, during the Heat of a Civil War, and when all Things were tending to Confusion, was nothing strange: Nor was Serjeant *Wild's* Introduction at the opening of his Charge, any thing but what might have been expected at such a Time, when he told the Lords, That *it might be said of the Great Cause of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as it was in a like Case, Repertum est hodie no die facinus, quod nec Poeta fingere, nec Histrio sonare nec Mimis imitari potuerit.* But it was indeed strange, and none of the least of this great Man's Misfortunes, that three Years before, he should be declar'd by the House of Commons a Traytor, *Nemine contradicente*, at a Time when there was not the least Misunderstanding betwixt the King and Parliament, being within the first Month after they sat down: And which was yet stranger, That no body was more severe upon him, than some of those that afterwards took the King's part against the Parliament, and were at last the chief Instruments of his Son's Restoration. Whoever reads Sir *Harbottle Grimstone's* Speech upon voting his Impeachment, or *Pym's* upon carrying it up to the Lords, will be apt to think, *That scarce any Age has produc'd a Man whose Actions and Conduct have been more obnoxious to Obloquy, or given greater occasion for it.*

There was one Threed that run through his whole Accusation, and upon which most of the Articles of his Impeachment turn'd; and that was, *his Inclination to Popery, and his Design to introduce the Romish Religion*: Of which his Immortal Book against *Fisher*, and his Declaration at his Death, do sufficiently acquit him. And yet, not Protestants only, but even Roman Catholicks themselves, were led into this Mistake; otherwise they would not have dar'd to offer one in his Post a Cardinal's Cap, as he confesses in his Diary they did twice. the Introduction of

of a great many Pompous Ceremonies into the Church, the Licensing some Books that spoke favourably of the Church of *Rome*, and the refusing to license others that were writ against it, were the principal Causes of his being thus misrepresented: And indeed his Behaviour in some of these Matters, as likewise in the Star-Chamber and High-Commission-Court, can hardly be accounted for; and particularly his Theatrical Manner of consecrating a new Church in *London*, related at length in the *Appendix*.

He was certainly, in spite of Malice, a Man of an elevated Capacity, and vast Designs; a great Encourager of Learning, and learned Men; and spared no Pains nor Cost to enrich *England* with such a noble Collection of Books and Manuscripts in most Languages, as look'd rather like the Bounty of a King, than of a Subject. As he left behind him many lasting Monuments of his Beneficence to the learned World, so was he in a Way to have carried it much further, if his Misfortunes had not interven'd, and depriv'd Learning of so powerful a Benefactor.

But after all; as there is seldom found a Mind so Great but has some Allay, so it seems Archbishop *Laud*, notwithstanding his excellent Endowments, was not proof against either the Impression of Dreams, or Revenge of personal Affronts, though never so trivial in themselves, nor the Person never so mean: Of the one, witness his taking so particular Notice in his Diary of several of his Dreams; and of the other, his carrying his Resentments so far against *Archie* the King's Fool, for a mere Jest, that he had him turn'd out of Court by an Order of Council: Which being so unaccountable a Piece of Weakness in so great a Man, and done at a full Board, the King and the Archbishop present; the Order is plac'd in the *Appendix*, for a remarkable Instance how far the greatest of Men may at some Times be left without a Guard against Passion.

To

To return to King *Charles*, he did every Thing that was possible, to give Satisfaction to the Parliament, or could be reasonably expected from a Gracious and Beneficent Prince. He pass'd the Bill for attainting the Earl of *Strafford*, though with Reluctancy, as believing he deserv'd not such hard Measure: He took away Monopolies, that had been a great Discouragement to Trade: He express'd himself to their Contentment in the Matters of Loan, Ship-money, Tunnage and Poundage, and other unwarrantable Methods that had been us'd in raising Money; and shew'd a settled Resolution to comply with them in every Thing that might tend to the Ease and Security of the Subject. As in the preceding Parliament he had pass'd the Petition of Right, so in the beginning of this he had agreed to the Acts for Triennial Parliaments, and for abolishing the Star-Chamber and High-Commission Courts, which had been great Grievances; and with Chearfulness pass'd that Act which seem'd inconsistent with his own just Prerogative, That *that Parliament should not be dissolv'd, but by Act of Parliament; nor prorogu'd or adjourn'd, but by their own Consent.*

The King having upon these Concessions receiv'd the Publick Thanks of both Houses, and the loud Applauses of his People, took a Journey for *Scotland* in *August* 1641. to settle Matters there, that requir'd his Presence; leaving the Parliament sitting, which they continu'd to do for some Time, and then adjourn'd themselves to *October* following. At the King's going away, Affairs had been already settled betwixt the two Kingdoms by an Act of Pacification, and both Armies order'd to be disbanded, the *Scots* returning home for that Purpose.

While the King was in *Scotland*, the *Irish* Rebellion broke out, which became a new Bone of Contention between the King and the Parliaments of both Nations. He took what Measures were possible in *Scotland* about suppressing that

*The Irish
Rebellion.*

that Rebellion, and made what haste he could back to *England* to concert with the Parliament there, what was further to be done towards it; leaving the *Scots*, as he said himself, *a contented People*, and every Thing settled to their Mind both in Church and State.

He returned to *London* the latter End of *November*, and was receiv'd with all Demonstrations of Affection. The Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, the Nobility, Gentry, and Train'd-Bands met him without the City, and conducted him in great State with the Acclamations of the People (the City Companies in their Formalities lining the Streets on each side) to *Guildhall*, where he was royally feasted, and after Dinner conducted with the same Pomp to *Whitehall*.

What Man that had seen a Prince thus receiv'd into his Capital City, could have imagin'd that within less than seven Weeks he should be oblig'd to leave it upon the Account of Tumults, never to see it again; but as a Prisoner brought thither to die upon a Scaffold? Yet this was King *Charles's* hard Fortune: And 'tis here I would willingly draw a Veil over the remaining part of his Reign that ended in one of the most dismal Tragedies that ever was acted upon the *English* Stage. His Virtues and Morals deserv'd a better Fate, and he suffer'd for the Faults of others, rather than Errors of his own.

The House of Commons had begun some few Days before his Return, to fall into new Heats about *Innovations in Religion; the Rebellion in Ireland; Plots said to be laid in Scotland; the disabling the Clergy to exercise Temporal Jurisdiction; and excluding the Bishops from Votes in Parliament*: All which Matters, together with Reports that were buzz'd about of some Designs against the Par-

liament, led the House into that remarkable Petition, and Remonstrance of the State of the Nation; in which they ripp'd up again all the Mismanagements in the Government since the King's

The Petition and Remonstrance of the H. of Commons to K. Char.

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coming to the Crown; and attributed all to *Evil counsels and Counsellors, and a Malignant Party about the King.* This *Remonstrance* was roughly penn'd both for Matter and Expression, and met with great Opposition in the House, the Debate lasting from Three a Clock in the Afternoon till Ten a Clock next Morning; and was presented to his Majesty the eighth Day after his return from Scotland.

It was no wonder King *Charles* was surpriz'd at this Petition and Remonstrance, considering how much he had done to comply with his Parliament in all they desired. And since from these two Papers, and from the King's Answer to them at their Delivery, and from the Declaration he publish'd more at large afterwards to the same Purpose, the Reader will be better enabled to make a Judgement of the Causes and Arguments on both sides for the Civil War that ensued, I have plac'd all the four in the *Appendix*: The length of them may be more easily pardon'd, since upon the Matters contain'd in them, the whole almost of all the Differences that came to be decided by the Sword, happen'd to turn.

Appendix,
Numb. 9.

Things were now going fast on towards lessening the Confidence betwixt the King and Parliament: And yet there were not wanting Endeavours on both Sides to accommodate Matters by soft and healing Methods, when the King's coming to the House of Commons in Person to demand five of their Members, whom he had order'd the Day before to be impeach'd of High-Treason, did put all into a Combustion, and gave occasion to the House to assert their Privileges with a greater warmth than ever. This was the most unlucky step King *Charles* could have made at that Juncture: And the Indiscretion of some that attended the King to the Lobby of the

*King Charles's
Coming to the
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House, was insisted upon as an Argument that the King was resolv'd to use Violence upon the Parliament, which 'tis to be Presum'd was a Thing far from his Thoughts. The five Members had hardly Time to make their Escape just when the King was entring; and upon his going away, the House adjourn'd in a Flame for some Days, ordering a Committee to sit in *Guildhall* in the mean Time, as if they were not safe at *Westminster*.

Whoever they were that advis'd the King to this rash Attempt, are justly chargeable with all the Blood that was afterwards spilt; for this sudden Action was the first and visible Ground of all our following Miseries. It was believ'd, that if the King had found the five Members in the House, and had call'd in his Guards to seize them, the House would have endeavour'd their Defence, and oppos'd Force to Force: which might have endanger'd the King's Person. But the Consequences were bad enough without this; for immediately upon it there was nothing but Confusion and Tumults, Fears and Jealousies every where, which spread themselves to *Whitehall* in the rudest Manner; so that his Majesty thinking himself not safe there, he retir'd with his Family to *Hampton-Court*.

The King leaving the Parliament in this Manner, there were scarce any Hopes of a thorow Reconciliation. But when after a great many removes from Place to Place, his Majesty came to set up his Standart at *Nottingham*, there ensued a Fatal and Bloody War; which, 'tis reasonable to believe, was never design'd at first by either side.

Each Party blam'd the other for beginning this War; and 'tis not easy to determine which of them began it. Though the King made the first Steps that seem'd to tend that Way, such as *raising a Troop for a Guard to his Person, summoning the Gentlemen and Freeholders of several Counties to attend him in his Progress to the North, and ordering Arms and Ammunition to be*

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bought in Holland for his use; yet the Parliament did as much at the same Time: for they likewise rais'd Guards of their own, and took care that the Magazine of Hull should not fall into the King's Hands. So that the King and Parliament prepar'd themselves insensibly for War, without considering that these Preparations must gradually and inevitably come to Blows in the End. The King's setting up his Standart at Nottingham was not the first publick Notice of this War, as has been commonly reported by Historians that should have known better; for that was not done till August 22. 1642. and yet the House of Commons pass'd these two Votes the 12th of July before; 1. That an Army should be forthwith rais'd for the Safety of the King's Person, Defence of both Houses of Parliament, and of those who have obey'd their Orders and Commands; and preserving of the true Religion, Laws, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdom. And 2. That the Earl of Essex should be General, and the Earl of Bedford General of the Horse. To which Votes the House of Lords agreed.

Whoever begun the War, it was carried on in the beginning with equal Success, and it was hard to determine which Side had the better: Till in the Sequel, the loss of Essex's Army in the West, and other Disadvantages, brought the Parliament's Affairs to a low Ebb, and seem'd to promise the King an intire Mastery. To retrieve their sinking Fortune, the Parliament was oblig'd to call in the Scots to their Assistance; which so far turn'd the Scale, that the King lost Ground every Day after: And the defeat of his Army at the Battels of *Marston-Moor* and *Naseby*, put him out of Capacity to keep the Field, and broke intirely all his Measures.

During the whole Course of this Unnatural War, it was hard to divine what would be the Fate of *England*; whether an Absolute Unlimited Monarchy; a new-hud-dled-up Commonwealth; or a down right Anarchy. If the

King should prevail, the first was to be fear'd, considering that the many Indignities put upon him, might embitter him against the Parliament; if the Parliament should prevail, the second was to be apprehended: And if the Army should set up for themselves, as afterwards they did, the last was inevitably to follow. All which some of the best Men about the King wisely foresaw, and trembled at the Event of every Battel that was fought, who ever happen'd to be Victors. It was the dread of these Misfortunes that hinder'd the Lords and Commons whom the King call'd to *Oxford*, from assuming to themselves the Name of *The Parliament of England*, and from declaring those met at *Westminster*, *Rebels*; though the King, again and again importuned them to it, and took their Refusal so ill, that in one of his Letters to the Queen, intercepted at *Naseby*; he reflects heavily upon them for it, and calls them in Derision *his Mungrel Parliament*. It was likewise the dismal Prospect he had of this War, even in the beginning of it, that mov'd that accomplish'd Gentleman the Lord *Faulkland*, to throw away his Life, rather than be a Witness of the Miseries that were coming upon the Nation. For tho' he was Secretary of State to the King, and follow'd his Fortune; yet seeing all his Endeavours for promoting a Peace were in vain, he went on with a Party to skirmish with the Enemy, the Day before the first Battle of *Newbury*; and being dissuaded by his Friends, as having no Call to it, being no Military Person, he said, *He was weary of the Times, and foresaw much Misery to his Country, and hop'd he should be out of it ere Night*. So pushing into the Battle, he was slain.

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Many Endeavours were us'd from Time to Time to bring Matters to an Accommodation by Way of Treaty; but still some one unlucky Accident or other render'd them all abortive. At the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, though the Parliament's Demands were high, and the King show'd a more than ordinary Aversion to comply

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comply with them; yet the ill Posture of the King's Affairs at that Time, and the fatal Consequences they fear'd would follow upon breaking off of the Treaty, oblig'd a great many of the King's Friends, and more particularly that Noble Person the Earl of *Southampton* who had gone Post from *Uxbridge* to *Oxford* for that Purpose, to press the King again and again upon their Knees, to yield to the Necessity of the Times; and by giving his Assent to some of the most material Propositions that were sent him, to settle a lasting Peace with his People. The King was at last prevail'd with to follow their Counsel; and the next Morning was appointed for signing a Warrant to his Commissioners to that Effect. And so sure were they of a happy End of all Differences, that the King at Supper complaining his Wine was not good, one told him merrily, *He hop'd that his Majesty would drink better before a Week was over, at Guildhall with the Lord-Mayer.* But so it was, that when they came early next Morning to wait upon him with the Warrant that had been agreed upon over Night, they found his Majesty had chang'd his Resolution, and was become inflexible in these Points.

The unhappy occasion of this Alteration has lain hitherto a Secret in History, and might have continued such still, if a Letter from the Marquis of *Montrose* in *Scotland*, whereof I have seen a Copy under the Duke of *Richmond's* Hand, did not give a sufficient Light into it. To make the Matter better understood, 'tis necessary to say something of *Montrose* and his Actions in *Scotland*.

This Nobleman had been at first very active and zealous for the Liberties of his Country; and was the first Man that past the River *Tweed* at the Head of five hundred Horse, upon the *Scots* first Expedition into *England*: but being afterwards disoblig'd, or, as some say, repenting of his former Error, he left that side, and came in

to

to the King at the breaking out of the War between him and the Parliament. When the *Scots* came into *England* the second Time to assist the Parliament, *Montross* apply'd himself to the King for a Commission to levy War against his Rebel Subjects, as they were call'd, of *Scotland*; assuring his Majesty, he was able with the Assistance of his Friends, and Concurrence of the rest of the Royal Party, to make at least a very considerable Division, if not to reduce the whole Country to his Majestys Obedience. Accordingly the Marquis was made Governour of *Scotland*; where, in the Space of five Months, with a handful of raw undisciplin'd Men, and those not half-arm'd, he did over-run a great Part of the Country, and gain three very considerable Battles; the last of which was that of *Inverlochy*, fought the second of *February* 1644, according to the *English*, and 1645, according to the *Scots* Account. In this Battle the Earl of *Argyle* was entirely defeated, and the Prime of the Noble Family of the *Campbells* cut off, with inconsiderable Loss on *Montross's* side; who next Day dispatch'd an express to the King with the News of this and his two former Victories: And in his Letter express'd his utter Aversion to all Treaties with his Rebel Parliament in England, as he calls them: Tells the King, *he is heartily sorry to hear that his Majesty had consented to treat; and hopes it is not true*: Advises him *not to enter into Terms with his Rebellious Subjects, as being a Thing unworthy of a King*: And assures him, That he himself was now so much Master of *Scotland*, that he doubted not but to be able within a few Months to march into England to his Majesty's Assistance, with a brave Army. And concludes with this odd Expression *When I have conquer'd from Dan to Beersheba, as I doubt not I shall very quickly, I hope I may have then leave to say as David's General said to his Master, Come thou, lest this Country be call'd by my Name.*

This Letter writ with such an Air of Assurance, and by a Person that was thought capable to make good his Promises;

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misers; and the Matter contain'd in it, suiting but too well with the King's Inclinations, was unluckily deliver'd to the King but a few Hours before he was to have sign'd the Warrant before-mention'd; and had as ill Effects as the worst of King *Charles's* Enemies could have wish'd; for it dash'd out in a Moment all the Impressions his best Friends had been making upon him for a considerable Time, towards a full Settlement with his People.

It look'd as if there was some secret Fatality in this whole Matter; for it could hardly have been imagin'd, that a Letter writ the third of *February*, in the furthest North Corner of *Britain*, should come so soon to *Oxford*, considering the Length of the Journey, the Badness of the Roads at that Time of the Year; especially through the mountainous part of *Scotland*, together with the Parliament's and *Scotch* Armies and Garrisons that were posted all along the Road: And yet certain it is, it came through all these Dangers and Inconveniencies in very few Days; for 'tis indors'd upon the Copy I have seen, *That it was deliver'd to the King during the Treaty of Uxbridge*; which every body knows began the 30th of *January*, and ended the 22d of *February*. And further, it must have been deliver'd before the 19th of *February*, because King *Charles* takes notice of it in a Letter to the Queen, of that Date, found among others at *Naseby*; where he says, *Though I leave News to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, That even now I have received certain Intelligence of a great Defeat given by Montros to Argyle, who upon Surprize totally routed those Rebels, and kill'd Fifteen hundred upon the place.* And 'tis remarkable, That in the same Letter to the Queen, immediately after the mentioning *Montros's* Victory, the King adds, *That as for trusting the Rebels, either by going to London, or disbanding my Army before a Peace, do no Ways fear my hazard- ing so cheaply or foolishly: for I esteem the Interest thou hast in me at a far dearer Rate; and pretend to have a little*
more

more Wit (at least, by the Sympathy that's betwixt us) than to put my self into the Reverence of perfidious Rebels. Which Words being compared with Montros's Letter, it will be found the one is a Commentary upon the other.

I have plac'd *Montros's* Letter it self in Appendix, the Appendix, and cannot leave it, without Numb. 10. making this Observation, That *considering the Time it was writ, the critical Minute it was deliver'd, with the sad Consequences that attended it; it makes this Axiom true, That oftentimes the Fate of Princes and States is chiefly owing to every minute and unforeseen Accidents.*

The Treaty of *Uxbridge* being thus broke off, the War was renew'd with greater Fury than ever; till at last the Parliament's Army having beaten the King out of the Field, came to kick their *Masters* out of the House: and having modell'd the Parliament and Army to their own Minds, did set up for themselves, and at one Blow completed the Ruin of their Country in the Murder of King Charles I. and the Extirpation of Monarchy. In short, a continued Series of Misfortunes attended the Royal Cause: and several favourable Accidents, that seem'd from Time to Time to promise better Events, did concur in the End to the King's undoing: Till at last, that unhappy Prince, in being brought before a Tribunal of his own Subjects, and submitting his Neck to the Stroke of a Common Executioner, taught the World an astonishing Example of the Instability of Human Greatness; and in that and the rest of his Sufferings, a lasting Pattern of Christian Magnanimity and Patience.

The Character of King Charles I. may be taken in a great Part from what has been already said; and I shall only add a few Things more. He was a Prince of a comely Presence, of a Sweet, Grave, but Melancholy

Melancholy Aspect. His Face was regular, handsome, and well-complexion'd; his Body strong, healthy, and well made; and though of a low Stature, was capable to endure the greatest Fatigues. His Face, contrary to that of his Son *Charles II.* was easily taken, either in Painting or Sculpture; and scarce any one, though never so indifferently skill'd in their Art, fail'd to hit it. He had something in the Lines and Features which Physiognomists account unfortunate: And 'tis commonly reported, that his Picture being sent to *Rome* to have a *Busto* done by it; a famous Statuary, not knowing whose it was, told the Gentleman that brought it, *He was sorry if it was the Face of any Relation of his; for it was one of the most Unfortunate he ever saw; and according to all the Rules of Art, the Person whose it was must die a violent Death.* In his Temper he was Brave, Magnificent, Liberal and Constant; but more affable to Strangers than his own Subjects. It was his noble and generous Behaviour that took so much with the King of *Spain*, when he went thither to court the Infanta, that he rejected the repeated Sollicitations of his Council to seize him; and paid him more Respect than could have been well expected, if he had been King of *England* at that Time. Of his Composure of Mind in Time of greatest Danger, he gave a Noble Instance in his Behaviour in that great Storm in the Road of *St. Andrees*, which was worthy the antient Philosophers: Nor did he fall short of the bravest in Personal Courage; having expos'd his Person in every Battle he was in, and oftentimes charging at the Head of his Squadrons.

He had a good Taste of Learning, and a more ordinary Skill in the Liberal Arts, especially Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Medals; and being a generous Benefactor to the most Celebrated Masters in those Arts, he acquir'd the noblest Collection of any Prince in his Time, and more than all the Kings of *England* had done before him. 'Tis said, notwithstanding his natural Ge-

nerosity, that he bestow'd Favours with a worse Grace than his Son King *Charles* the Second denied them; and many Times obliterated the Sense of the Obligation by the Manner of it: But indeed he had seldom much to give, being kept short of Money a great Part of his Reign. The Essentials of Divinity he was as much Master of, as ever his Father had been, but without the Allay of Pedantry: Of this, among other Things, the Papers that pass betwixt him and Mr. *Henderson* at *Newcastle*, will be a lasting Monument. He was a great Patron of the Clergy, but his employing them in the highest Offices of Trust in State-Matters, created Envy against them, and lessen'd the Love of the Nobility towards him: Yet such was the

Honesty and Integrity of one of them in the
Dr. Juxon greatest and most obnoxious Post in the
Bishop of Kingdom; that when some Years after he
London. had resign'd the Treasurer's Staff, and
 when the Parliament wanted not will to

crush him, they could not find, upon the narrowest Scrutiny, any one Thing to object either against his Accounts, or his Behaviour in that Place.

King *Charles* was a passionate Lover of his Queen, who was a beautiful Lady, and in all Things very well accomplish'd; insomuch that his Friends regretted the Ascendant she had over him on some Occasions, while others tax'd him with the Character of an uxorious Husband. He was fond of his Children, and kind to his Servants; tho' these last felt sometimes the hasty Sallies of his Passion. He was not mistaken of himself, when he said before the High Court of Justice, *That he understood as much Law as any private Gentleman in England*: And pity it was that any of his Ministers should have advis'd him to make Breaches in what he so well understood.

He spoke several Languages very well, and with a singular good Grace; tho' now and then, when he was warm in Discourse, he was inclinable to stammer. He

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writ a tolerable hand for a King, but his Sense was strong, and his Stile Laconick; and yet he seldom wrote in any Language but *Englisb*. Some of his Manifestoes, Declarations, and other publick Papers, he drew himself, and most of them he corrected. In comparing those of the King with the Parliament's; one would be easily inclin'd to prefer, for the most part, the King's for the Strength of Reasoning, and the Force of Expression. I have seen several Pieces of his own Hand, and therefore may the better affirm, That both for Matter and Form they surpass those of his ablest Ministers, and come nothing short of *Strafford* or *Faukland*, the two most celebrated Pens of that Time.

As to his Religion, he was Protestant, and, in the strictest Sense, of the Church of *England*, and for the Divine Right of Episcopacy: But his consenting personally to the total Abolition of that Order in *Scotland*, does not well agree with this Part of his Character; especially considering his repeated Protestations at the Treaties of *Uxbridge* and *Newport*, That he could not surpseede it, but for a Time, in *England*. What his Opinion was about Subjects defending their Religion and Liberties by Force of Arms, appear'd in the Business of *Rochel*: For tho' some would have had us believe of late, That defensive Arms were inconsistent with the Principles of the Church of *England*; 'tis hop'd they will not deny but King *Charles I.* understood the Doctrine and Principles of that Church as well as any other Person can pretend to do; and yet 'tis certain, that in his Practice and Declarations he allow'd of the People of *Rochel*'s vindicating their Religion and Liberties from the Incroachments made by their Sovereign, and that by Force of Arms, and assisted them in so doing.

King *Charles* did not only assist the *Rochellers* after the War was actually begun, but we have Reason to believe

His assisting the Rochellers.

that he encourag'd them to it at first, if we look into the Duke of *Rhoan's* Memoirs and Apology; where that great Man acquaints the World in what Manner he was brought into that War, in these Words, as near as I can translate them from the Original: *When all our Privileges* (Says he) *were violated, and our Religion brought to Ruin, and the City of Rochel in the greatest Danger, I could see no possibility to escape, but was upon the sad Thoughts of submitting our selves to the Mercy of the King* (meaning *Lewis XIII.*) *Being in this desperate State, there came a Gentleman to me from the King of England; who told me from his Master, That he seeing our Privileges were violated, and our Religion in danger of being subverted, had taken compassion on our Sufferings, and thought himself oblig'd in Honour and Conscience to assist and protect us: which he was resolv'd to do, by employing all his Kingdoms, and his own Person, in so just a War; provided we would join our Arms with his, and not enter into any Treaty with the King* (meaning the French King) *without him; and for that Effect he would make War against the French King both by Sea and Land. Intreating me* (continues the Duke of *Rhoan*) *not to abandon my Party in so just and honourable a War.* And a little after, in the same Apology, he has these Words; *I refer it to all the World, if I can be justly call'd the Author of the third War, considering I was solicited to it by the King of Great Britain.*

But suppose there were no Credit to be given to the Duke of *Rhoan*, whose Honour and Veracity even his very Enemies never call'd in question; and suppose it were false, which all the World knows to be true, that King *Charles* did actually assist the *Rochellers* again and again against their Prince: yet we have authentick Accounts of several Speeches made by the Duke of *Buckingham's* Secretary to the *Rochellers*, and of several Messages sent to them

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from the Duke, in name of the King his Master, all to the same Purpose: And likewise a Manifesto publish'd by him, and sign'd with his own Hand, dated July 21. 1627. aboard the Admiral-Ship; in which he has this Expression: *No private Interest* (says he) *has oblig'd my Master to make war against the French King, but merely the Defence of the Protestant Church: My Master's Design is the Re-establishment of the Church; their good is his Interest, and their Contentment his End.*

We have also authentick Copies of the League betwixt King Charles and the People of Rochel; in which there is this Expression, *That the Rochellers may be deliver'd from the Oppressions they groan under.* And to sum up all, there were two Letters writ by King Charles, with his own Hand; to the Rochellers, which are mention'd by Monsieur Mervault, a Syndic of that Town, and who was active in the whole Matter, and present during the whole Siege; of which the Copies follow.

To the Mayor, Sheriffs, Peers, and Burgeffes of the City of Rochel.

Gentlemen,

BE not discourag'd, tho' my Fleet be return'd. Hold out to the last; for I am resolv'd that my whole Fleet shall perish, rather than you be not reliev'd. For this Effect I have order'd it to return back to your Coast, and am sending several Ships to reinforce it. With the help of God the Success shall be happy for you.

At Westminster,
May 19. O. S.
1628.

Your good Friend,

CHARLES R.
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The other Letter, directed as before, runs thus:

Gentlemen,

I Have been very much troubled to hear that my Fleet was upon the point of returning home, without obeying my Orders in supplying you with Provisions, cost what it will. I have commanded them to return to your Road, and not to come away until you are supply'd, or at least till they are reinforc'd, which I have order'd to be done with all diligence. Assure your selves, that I shall never abandon you: and that I shall employ the whole Power of my Kingdom for your Deliverance, until God assist me to obtain for you an assur'd Peace.

Given at our Palace of
Westminster, May 27.
O. S. 1628

Your good Friend,

C H A R L E S R.

I have dwelt the longer upon this Subject, because it is easy to draw a Parallel betwixt the Case of King Charles's assisting Subjects against their King in the Defence of their Religion and Liberties, and that of another Prince's doing the same upon a late Occasion: But as the former had no other Right to interpose in the one, but the common Interest of Religion; so the other had over and above that, the Right of a Prince of the Blood, and the Interest of the presumptive Heir of the Crown; all which alter'd the Case greatly to the Advantage of the latter. K. Charles was as unfortunate in this War with France, as he was in all others he engag'd in. The poor City of Rochel, after a long and cruel Siege, amidst the Horrors of Famine and Death, was at last forc'd to submit to the Will of the Conqueror; and the Loss of that Bulwark of the

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the *French Liberty* was, in some Time, follow'd by the total Ruin of the Protestant Interest in *France*. The *English Fleet* lay within View of the Town when it was taken; and which added to the Misfortune, that mighty *Dyke*, that had been rais'd at inestimable Charges to block up the Harbour, fell down the very next Day after the Surrender, and open'd a Passage for the Fleet that came to relieve it, when it was now too late.

During this War, he lost his Favourite *George Villers, Duke of Buckingham*. This Gentleman was one of the greatest Prodigies of Fortune that any Age has produc'd; and gave us a signal Instance how far it is possible for the same Person to be the Favourite of two successive Monarchs. He possess'd King *James's* Favour without a Rival, and without any other Interruption, but that Cloud which the Intrigues of *Spain* rais'd against him in the King's Mind, which has been already hinted at; wherein the Son shar'd equally with the Favourite, and which Bishop *Williams's* dexterity soon dissipated. King *Charles* out-did his Father in his Kindness to *Buckingham*, and had no Favourite after him. He had all the Qualities that are requisite for a Court, and fit to acquire and preserve his Master's Affections. Notwithstanding he was in his Temper highly Generous and Beneficent, and that there were few great Families in *England* but he had some Way or other oblig'd, either in themselves or their Relations, yet he fell under the Misfortune that attends Favourites: but it must be own'd, he was rather envied than hated. He had the ill luck to be charg'd with a great many Things of which he was innocent, and particularly in Relation to the *Spanish Match*. By all that I have seen, he deserved the Thanks of the Nation upon that Account, rather than an Impeachment in Parliament: For it was he chiefly that

The Character of the D. of Buckingham.

Vide Hacket's Life of B. Williams.

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broke off that Match, when he saw how much King *James* suffer'd in his Honour, through the Manner he was treated in it, which he found out sooner than the King did himself. 'Tis none of the least Proofs of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Innocency in these Matters, that *Spanhemius* in his History of the *Electrice Palatine*, (writ long after *Buckingham's* Death) speaks always honourably of him in the Business of the *Palatinate*; whereas at the same Time he exposes King *James's* Conduct.

'Tis a vulgar Mistake, that he came to be the first Minister, merely through the Caprice of King *James*; for the Court unanimously promoted his Interest, and recommended him to the highest Favour, in opposition to *Somerset*, whose Arrogancy, Covetousness, and Pride, had disoblig'd every body, and made both the King and the Court weary of him. No Servant did his Master more Honour in the Magnificence of his Train, and the splendid Manner of his Living, especially in his Embassy to *France*; where in the Gracefulness of his Person, and Nobleness of his Behaviour and Equipage, he out-did any Thing that ever was seen of that kind before. He was more form'd for a Court than a Camp; and tho' very brave in his Person, he was unsuccessful in the only military Expedition he was engag'd in, which was that of *Rochel*: And when he was upon the embarking a second Time to repair that Disgrace, he was basely murder'd amidst a Croud of his Friends, and in the height of his Glory.

To return to King *Charles's* Character: If he had any personal Faults, they were much overweigh'd by his Virtues; but an immoderate Desire of Power, beyond what the Constitution did allow of, was the Rock he split upon. He might have been happy, if he had trusted more to his own Judgment than that of those about him: for as in his Nature he was an Enemy to all violent Measures, so was he apt to submit his own Reason to that of others, when any such Things came under Consideration. There

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was another Error that run thro' the whole Management of his Affairs, both Domestick and Publick, and which occasion'd a great part of his Misfortunes: He appear'd many Times stiff and positive in denying at first what he granted afterwards out of Time, and too late to give Satisfaction; which encourag'd ambitious and interested Persons to ask more than they thought of at first, and lost him the Fruits of his former Concessions: So that in the whole Conduct of his Life he verifys'd this Maxim, *That Errors in Government have ruin'd more Princes than their personal Vices.*

I shall have done with this melancholy Subject, after the Reader has been acquainted with one remarkable Accident, not hitherto mention'd with that Exactness it deserves by any Author I know of; which, considering its Consequences, is an extraordinary Instance, upon what small Hinges the greatest Revolutions may turn.

That the principal Rise of all King Charles's latter Troubles, was from the second War with the *Scots*, has been already show'd; but what the Motives were that embolden'd the *Scots* to alter their Measures from those they had ob-

*The true Cause
of the Scots
coming first
into England*

serv'd in the first War, continues in great part a Mystery to this Day. In the first War they stood upon the Defensive only, and came no further than their own Borders; but in the second they acted so much on the Offensive, that they march'd into *England* as far as *Durham*, and were coming on further, if the Treaty that was set afoot at *Rippon* had not stop't them. All the Accounts we have of this Proceeding of the *Scots*, do seem to be grounded upon the Informations they had of the Backwardness of *England* to assist the King in this War; and that they were well assur'd of Friends all over the Kingdom, and some of nearest Access to the King's Person, who they

knew would interpose in their Behalf, rather than Matters should come to Extremities. But these general Encouragements can hardly be thought to have had such weight with the *Scots*, as to make them venture upon so bold an Attempt; and therefore 'tis but reasonable to believe they went upon surer Grounds when they made this Invasion.

This Matter will be set in a clearer Light, when the Reader is acquainted, That a forg'd Letter (pretended to be sent from some of the most leading Men of the Nobility of *England*) came to have the same Effects as if it had been a true one, and really sign'd by the same Persons whose Names were affix'd to it; which fell out in this Manner.

After the Pacification at *Duns*, which put an End to the first War, the King, at his Return to *London*, was prevail'd with, upon the Account of several Things the *Scots* were said to have done contrary to the Articles of the Treaty, and the Duty of Subjects, to order the Pacification to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman. To reduce them to Obedience, he was meditating a new War, and in order thereto was levying another Army, and was pleas'd to call a Parliament to assist him in it. The *Scots* had their Commissioners at *London* at that Time, who wanted not Friends in both Houses to inform them of every Thing that happen'd in Parliament and Council, which they fail'd not to write home to their Country, advising them to be on their Guard, and to put themselves in a Posture not to be surpriz'd.

The *Scots* knowing how Matters went in *England*, and that a new Storm was like to break out upon them, were resolv'd to put themselves into a Posture of Defence; and to the Forces they had not yet disbanded, they added considerable new Levies both of Horse and Foot. Their Preparations went faster on than the King's, and with the more Chearfulness; for by this Time he had parted on

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ill Terms with his Parliament, and without obtaining a Supply. While the King was advancing towards the North, the Scots drew to their Borders; and it was debated at Several Councils of War, where a Committee of Estates assisted, Whether they should expect the King upon the Borders, as they had done before, or march into England, and carry the War out of their own Country: but they had taken no Resolution in the Matter, before the King was got as far as York.

In this nice Juncture there came a Gentleman to the English Border, who sent a Message to the Earl of Rothes, That he desir'd to acquaint him with a Matter of the greatest Importance and Secrecy, if he might privately, and with Safety speak with him alone. Rothes thereupon sent a trusty Servant with a Passport, to conduct him to his Quarters; where the Gentleman told him, That he was directed particularly to him, as a Person of great Honour, and whom they could safely trust, with a Message from several Great Men of England; who were griev'd for the Ruin they foresaw must necessarily attend their Country, if the King should make himself absolute Master of Scotland; seeing after that, they were to expect the same Fate, considering how little to the King's Satisfaction Things had been carry'd in the Parliament of England, and how much he had resented their refusing a Subsidy to carry on this War. He told him, That nothing was so much desir'd in England, as a Free Parliament to redress their Grievances; And if the Scots would march immediately into England, the King must necessarily be straitned to that Degree in his Affairs, as to be oblig'd to call a Parliament: And that upon their March, the City of London, and the greatest part of the Nobility and Gentry would not only petition the King for a free Parliament, but likewise mediate between the King and them, and bring Matters to such an Accommodation, as might be for the Good of both Nations: adding withal, That if the Scots slip this Opportunity, they were never to expect the

like again. The Gentleman having deliver'd this Message, gave the Earl a Letter directed to him, and sign'd by about twelve Noblemen, much to the same Purpose, but writ more cautiously, and in more general Terms; desiring him, for a farther Explanation, to give intire Credit to the Bearer, whom they had fully inform'd of their Intentions.

Rothes, with the Gentleman's Leave, acquainted General *Lesley*, afterwards Earl of *Leven*, and one or two of the most leading Men of the Committee of Estates, with this Message; and upon solemn Promises of Secrecy, show'd them the Letter: both which agreeing so well in the main with the Intelligence they had receiv'd from *England*, and suiting with their own Inclinations, determin'd them in the Point. And the next Morning, in the Council of War, it was resolv'd to march into *England* that Afternoon; which accordingly they did. *Rothes* in the mean Time dispatch'd back the Messenger, with an Answer to the Noblemen he suppos'd had writ to him; thanking them for their Advice, and acquainting them with the Resolution which had been taken thereupon.

It fell out afterwards at the Treaty of *Rippon*, when the *English* and *Scotch* Commissioners grew familiar with one another, that the Earl of *Rothes* came from *Newcastle* to the Place of Treaty, and one of the *English* Noblemen making him a Visit, they fell into Discourse about the present Juncture of Affairs. The *English* Nobleman express'd how much he had been surpriz'd upon the first News of the *Scots* entring into *England*; and told him, That though he hop'd it would now turn to the Advantage of both Nations; yet it was in it self a dangerous and rash Attempt, and might have been fatal to the *Scots*, if the King had not been pleas'd to enter into a Treaty for an Accommodation of Matters in dispute between them. *Rothes* was at a stand what to make of this Discourse, considering this Nobleman was one of those whose Name was to the Letter formerly

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merly mention'd; and therefore answer'd, *That he wonder'd his Lordship was surpriz'd at an Action he had so much influenc'd: And that if it had not been for the Invitation of himself and his Friends, perhaps the Scots Army might have continued still on the other side of Tweed.* The two Lords being equally in the dark as to one another's meaning, were at length, upon producing of the Letter, both of them undeceiv'd, and found it was a mere Forgery; which was afterwards acknowledg'd by the Contriver, who was the Lord *Savile*, created some Time after Earl of *Suffex*.

This Letter, though forgotten now, was much talk'd of during the Civil Wars: And I have seen several Original Papers of those Times, that mention'd it. A

Noble Lord, lately dead, whose Name was to *The Lord* the Letter, never made any Scruple of tell- *Wharton*. ing this Passage to his Friends, in the manner

I have related it. And I once had a Copy of the Letter it self (from the Original, which was then, and I believe is still among the Papers of the Noble Family of *Rothes*) which I have since lost. I must confess I have dwelt longer upon this Matter, than consists with the Brevity I intended, and that it might have been more properly mention'd in another Place: Yet thus it was, that a Counterfeit Invitation brought the *Scots* into *England*, in the Year 1640. And considering the Consequences, it may be said, *That Providence many Times seems to play with Human Affairs, and influences the Fate of Kingdoms by Counsels and Measures the most improbable to succeed, if he had not design'd them to be subservient to his great Ends.*

There is an Historian, for whom I have the highest Veneration; who in his *Bishop of Salis-* *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, mentions a Passage not unlike to this, and perhaps it may be the very same, though *bury's Memoirs* of the Dukes of *Hamilton*. his Relation and mine differ in the Time, and some other Circumstances. And seeing I happen'd

to

to look into that Book some Time after I had writ these Sheets, that I may do Justice to its Reverend Author, whose Information I am willing to believe may be better than my own, though I had mine from no common Hands, I shall give an Account of it in his own Words: and the rather, for that I do not remember the Date of the Letter upon which the Passage turns, though I do the main Design and Contents of it.

" But that the Reader may not be wholly in the dark, "*says this Great Historian*, about the Grounds of this " Confidence the *Covenanters* had, I shall set down what " I had from some Persons of Great Honour, who were " fully inform'd about it. When the Earls of *Dumfer-* " *ling* and *Loudon* came to *London*, a Person of Quality of " the *English* Nation (whose Name is suppress'd because " of the Infamy of this Action) came to them, and with " great Vehemence press'd them to engage in a new " War; and among other Motives brought them *En-* " *gagements* in Writing from most of the greatest Peers " of *England*, to join with them, and assist them when " they should come into *England* with their Army. This " did much animate them; for they had not the least " doubt of the Papers brought them. But all this was " discover'd, at the Treaty of *Rippon*, to have been a " base Forgery: For there the *Scotish* Lords looking very " sullenly upon some of the *English* Lords, as on Persons " of no Faith or Truth, the Lord *Mandevil* came to the " Earl of *Rothel*, and ask'd the Reason of that Change of " their Countenances and Behaviour in them; who after " some high Reflections, at length challeng'd him and " the other Lords of not keeping what they engag'd to " them. Upon which that Lord stood amaz'd, and told " him, and so did the other Lords there, That they had " sent no such Messages nor Papers to them; and that " they had been abus'd by the blackest Imposture that " ever was. Thus it appear'd (*concludes this Author*) how dangerous

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" dangerous it may be to receive some Things, that
 " seem to have the highest Probabilities in them, easily
 " and upon trust.

To leave this Subject, it may not be improper to add
 another Passage out of the same Book; where that *Reve-*
rend Prelate, speaking of the Inducements that prevail'd
 with the *Scots* to come in to the Assistance of the Parlia-
 ment three Years after, tell us, " That among other Ar-
 " guments, that Paper which was sent down in the Year
 " 1640, as the Engagement of Twenty Eight of the Peers
 " of *England*, for their Concurrence with the *Scottish* Ar-
 " my that Year, was shown to divers, to engage them in-
 " to a grateful Return to those to whom it was pretended
 " they were so highly oblig'd. For though the Earl of
 " *Rothes* (and a few more) were well satisfied about the
 " Forgery of that Paper, yet they thought that a Secret
 " of too great Importance to be generally known, therefore
 " it was still kept up from the Body of the Nation.

To shut up what relates to King *Char-*
les I. After the Treaty of *Newport* was
 broke off, and he once more carried away
 by the Army, he found his Case was de-
 sperate, and thereupon began to have some
 Thoughts of Resigning the Crown to the
 Prince of *Wales*, as the only Means, in that
 unhappy Condition, to preserve it for his
 Family. But before he had Time to di-
 gest this Resolution, or an Opportunity to acquaint the
 Parliament with it, he was hurried on to his Tryal. The
 last Day of that Tryal he earnestly propos'd, *That before*
Sentence pass'd, he might be heard before the Lords and Com-
mons in the painted Chamber, where he had something to of-
fer for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the
Subject, which might settle all Differences. It is probable
 he meant by this, to have resign'd the Crown; which his
 Enemies having some Intimation of, and fearing it might
 be

King
Charles's
Thoughts
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ing the
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his Son.

be accepted, they were the more forward to proceed to Sentence and Execution.

Likewise some Days before his Death, the prevailing Party had thoughts of setting up the Duke of Gloucester King. This was not kept so secret, but King Charles had some Notice of it; for the Duke and his Sister having leave to wait upon him the Night before the Execution, he took the young Duke in his Arms, and told him, *They were going to take off his Father's Head, and may be they would set the Crown upon his Head; which he forbid him to accept of, while his two Elder Brothers were living.*

There besel him an Accident, which though a Trifle in it self, and that no Weight is to be laid upon any Thing of that Nature; yet since the best Authors, both Ancient and Modern, have not thought it below the Majesty of History to mention the like, it may be the more excusable to insert it.

The King being at Oxford during the Civil Wars, went one Day to see the Publick Library, where he was show'd among other Books, a *Virgil* nobly printed, and exquisitely bound. The Lord Faulkland, to divert the King, would have his Majesty make a Tryal of his Fortune by the *Sortes Virgilianæ*; which every body knows was an usual kind of *Augury* some Ages past. Whereupon the King opening the Book, the Period which happen'd to come up, was that Part of *Dido's* Imprecation against *Æneas*; which Mr. Dryden translates thus:

*Yet let a Race untam'd, and haughty Foes,
His peaceful Entrance with dire Arms oppose:
Oppress'd with Numbers in th' unequal Field,
His Men discourag'd, and himself expell'd,*

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*Let him for Succour sue from Place to Place,
Torn from his Subjects, and his Son's embrace:
First let him see his Friends in Battle slain,
And their untimely Fate lament in vain;
And when at length the cruel War shall cease,
On hard Conditions may he buy his Peace.
Nor let him then enjoy Supreme Command,
But fall untimely by some hostile Hand,
And lie unbury'd on the barren Sand.*

Æneid. IV. l. 88.

It is said King *Charles* seem'd concern'd at this Accident; and that the Lord *Faukland* observing it, would likewise try his own Fortune in the same Manner; hoping he might fall upon some Passage that could have no Relation to his Case, and thereby divert the King's Thoughts from any Impression the other might have upon him: But the Place that *Faukland* stumbled upon, was yet more suited to his Destiny than the other had been to the King's, being the following Expressions of *Evander*, upon the untimely Death of his Son *Pallas*, as they are translated by the same Hand.

*O Pallas! thou hast fail'd thy plighted Word,
To fight with Caution, not to tempt the Sword:
I warn'd thee, but in vain; for well I knew,
What Perils youthful Ardour would pursue:
That boiling Blood would carry thee too far;
Young as thou wert in Dangers, raw to War!
O curst Essay of Arms, disastrous Doom,
Prelude of bloody Fields, and Flight to come!*

Æneid. XI. l. 230.

To return to our History: Upon the Death of King *Charles I.* there was a total Eclipse of the Royal Family for twelve Years; during a great Part of which Time an unusual

unusual Meteor fill'd the *English* Orb, and with its surprizing Influence over-aw'd not only three Kingdoms, but the powerfullst Princes and States about us. A great Man he was, and Posterity might have paid a just Homage to his Memory, *if he had not embred his Hands in the Blood of his Prince, or had not usurp'd upon the Liberties of his Country.*

It being as natural a Curiosity in Mankind to know the Character of a Fortunate Usurper, as of a lawful King, it may not perhaps be much amiss to say something of *Oliver Cromwell.*

The Usurpation and Character of Oliver Cromwell.

By Birth he was a Gentleman, and bred up for some Time at the University, though nothing of a Scholar. When the civil Wars broke out, he took the Parliament's side: and his first Employment in the Army was a Captain of Horse, whence by Degrees he arose to be Lieutenant-General under the Earl of *Manchester*: In which Post he was the chief Instrument, together with Lieutenant-General *Lesly*, of gaining the Battle of *Marston-Moor*, which prov'd the first remarkable Stop to the King's Success. Some Time after, the Earl of *Manchester* having refus'd to give an Order to *Cromwell* to charge a Party of Horse where the King was personally present, he came up to *London* to complain against him, tho' he ow'd his Advancement chiefly to his Favour. Which the Earl having Notice of, and being by this Time weary of a War of which he foresaw the fatal Consequences, he took that Opportunity to lay down his Command: wherein he was succeeded by *Cromwell.*

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* also laying down his Commission some Time after, he was declar'd General of all the Forces rais'd or to be rais'd by the Parliament; and having modell'd the Parliament and Army to his Mind, he dismiss'd the former, when he had no more use for them; and upon their forc'd Resignation, he assum'd the Supreme Power, under the Title of Protector.

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Being thus mounted to so high a Pinnacle of Fortune, he became more formidable both at home and abroad, than most Princes that had ever sat upon the *English* Throne. And it was said that Cardinal *Mazarine* would change Countenance whenever he heard him nam'd; so that it pass'd into a Proverb in France, *That he was not so much afraid of the Devil, as of Oliver Cromwell.* He had a manly stern Look, and was of an active healthful Constitution, able to endure the greatest Toil and Fatigue. Though brave in his Person, yet he was wary in his Conduct; for from the Time, he was first declar'd Protector, he always wore a Coat of Mail under his Clothes. His Conversation among his Friends was very diverting and familiar, but in publick reserv'd and grave. He was sparing in his Diet, though sometimes would drink freely, but never to Excess. He was moderate in all other Pleasures, and for what was visible free from Immoralities, especially after he came to make a Figure in the World. He writ a tolerable good Hand, and a Stile becoming a Gentleman; except when he had a mind to wheedle, under the Mask of Religion; which he knew nicely how to do, when his Affairs requir'd it. He affected for the most part a Plainness in his Clothes; but in them, as well as in his Guards and Attendance, he appear'd with Magnificence upon publick Occasions. No man was ever better serv'd, nor took more Pains to be so. As he was severe to his Enemies, so was he beneficent and kind to his Friends. And if he came to hear of a Man fit for his Purpose, tho' never so obscure, he sent for him, and employ'd him; suiting the Employment to the Person, and not the Person to the Employment. And upon this Maxim in his Government depended in a great Measure his Success.

In Matters of greatest Moment, he trusted none but his Secretary *Thurlo*, and oftentimes not him. An Instance

of which *Thurlo* us'd to tell of himself; *That he was once commanded by Cromwell to go at a certain Hour to Grays-Inn, and at such a Place deliver a Bill of twenty thousand Pounds, payable to the Bearer at Genoa, to a Man he should find walking in such a Habit and Posture as he describ'd him, without speaking one Word, Which accordingly Thurlo did; and never knew to his dying Day, either the Person or the Occasion.*

At another Time the Protector coming late at Night to *Thurlo's* Office, and beginning to give him Directions about something of great Importance and Secrecy, he took Notice that Mr. *Moreland*, one of the Clerks, afterward Sir *Samuel Moreland*, was in the Room, which he had not observ'd before; and fearing he might have over-heard their Discourse, tho' he pretended to be asleep upon his Desk, he drew a Ponyard, which he always carried under his Coat, and was going to dispatch *Moreland* upon the spot, if *Thurlo* had not with great Intreaties prevail'd with him to desist, assuring him that *Moreland* had sat up two Nights together, and was now certainly fast asleep.

There was not the smallest Accident that beset King *Charles II.* in his Exile, but he knew it perfectly well; insomuch that having given leave to an *English* Nobleman to travel, upon Condition he should not see *Charles Stuart*; he ask'd him at his Return, If he had punctually obey'd his Commands? Which the other affirming he had, *Cromwell* reply'd, *'Tis true you did not see him; for to keep your Word with me, you agreed to meet in the Dark, the Candles being put out for that End: And withal told him all the Particulars that pass'd in Conversation betwixt the King and him at their Meeting.*

That he had Spies about King *Charles*, *The Business* was not strange, but his Intelligence of *Dunkirk*. reach'd the most secret Transactions of other Princes, and when the Matter was communicated to but very few. Of which we have a

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notable Instance in the Business of *Dunkirk*. There was an Article in the Treaty between *France* and the Protector, That if *Dunkirk* came to be taken, it should be immediately diliver'd up to the *English*; and his Ambassador *Lockhart* had Orders to take Possession of it accordingly. When the *French* Army being join'd with the *English* Auxiliaries, was in its March to invest the Town, *Cromwell* sent one Morning for the *French* Ambassador to *Whitehall*, and upbraided him publicly for his Master's design'd Breach of Promise, in giving secret Orders to the *French* General to keep Possession of *Dunkirk*, in case it was taken, contrary to the Treaty between them. The Ambassador protested he knew nothing of the Matter, as indeed he did not, and begg'd leave to assure him, that there was no such Thing thought of. Upon which *Cromwell* pulling a Paper out of his Pocket, *Here* (says he) *is a Copy of the Cardinal's Order; And I desire you to dispatch immediately an Express, to let him know, that I am not to be impos'd upon; and that if he Deliver not up the Keys of the Town of Dunkirk to Lockhart within an Hour after it shall be taken, tell him I'll come in Person, and Demand them at the Gates of Paris.* There were but four Persons said to be privy to this Order, the Queen-Mother, the Cardinal, the *Mareschal de Turenne*, and a Secretary, whose Name it is not fit at this Time to mention. The Cardinal for a long Time blam'd the Queen, as if she might possibly have blabb'd it out to some of her Women; Whereas it was found after the Secretary's Death, That he had kept a secret Correspondence with *Cromwell*, for several Years and therefore it was not doubted but he had sent him the Copy of the Order above-mention'd.

The Message had its Effect; for *Dunkirk* was put into the Possession of the *English*. And to palliate the Matter, the Duke and *Mareschal of Crequy* was dispatch'd into *England*, Ambassador Extraordinary, to compliment *Cromwell*, attended with a numerous and splendid Train of persons

Persons of Quality; among whom was a Prince of the Blood, and *Muncini*, *Mazarine's* Nephew, who brought a Letter from his Uncle to the Protector, full of the highest Expressions of Respect; and assuring his Highness, That being within view of the English Shore, nothing but the King's Indisposition (who lay then ill of the Small-Pox at Calais) could have hinder'd him to come over to England, that he might enjoy the Honour of waiting upon one of the greatest Men that ever was; and whom, next to his Master, his greatest Ambition was to serve. But being depriv'd of so great a Happiness, he had sent the Person, that was nearest to him in Blood, to assure him of the profound Veneration he had for his Person, and how much he was resolv'd, to the utmost of his Power, to cultivate a perpetual Amity and Friendship betwixt his Master and him.

Puffendorff de Rebus Gestis Frederici Wilhelmi Electoris Brandenburgici, p. 313. Id porio Bellum Protectoris in Hispano adeo opportunum, Gallo accedebat, ut summo Studio istum foedere sibi innectere studeret, etiam concessio, ut Cromwellus eundem, Gallorum Regem, non Galliarum nuncuparet, alia ipse Protectoris quoque

Few Princes evere bore their Character higher upon all Occasions, than *Oliver Cromwell*, especially in his Treaties with crown'd Heads. And 'tis a Thing without example, that's mention'd by one of the best inform'd Historians of the Age, *Puffendorff*, in the Life of the late Elector of *Brandenburgh*; That in *Cromwell's* League with *France* against *Spain*, he would not allow the *French* King to call himself King of *France*, but of the *French*; whereas he took to himself not only the Title of *Protector* of *England*, but likewise, of *France*. And which is yet more surprizing, and which can hardly be believ'd, but for the Authority of the Author, whose own Words are in the Margin, in the Instrument of the Treaty, the Protector's Name was put before the *French* King's

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King's. 'Tis true, *France* was not under a Minority, and was not arriv'd at that Greatness to which it has since attain'd. Towards which, *Cromwell* contributed not a little, by that League with *France* against *Spain*; being the falsest Step he ever made, with Respect to the Tranquillity of *Europe*.

Franciæ, vocabulum, sicut Angliæ assumpturus; Simul pateretur Cromwellum Instrumento suo Nomen Titulumque ante Gallicum ponere.

As every Thing did contribute to the Fall of King *Charles I.* so did every Thing contribute to the Rise of *Cromwell*. And as there was no Design at first against the King's Life, so 'tis probable that *Cromwell* had no Thoughts, for a long Time, of ever arriving at what he afterwards was. It is known he was once in Treaty with the King, after the Army had carried his Majesty away from *Holmby-House*, to have restor'd him to the Throne; which probably he would have done, if the Secret had not been like to take vent, by the Indiscretion of some about the King; which push'd *Cromwell* on to prevent his own, by the Ruin of the King.

'Tis likewise certain, that the Title of Protector did not satisfy his Ambition, but that he aim'd to be King. The Matter was for some Time under Consideration, both in his Mock-Parliament, and Council of State; insomuch, that a Crown was actually made, and brought to *White-hall* for that Purpose. But the Aversion he found in the Army against it, and the fear of the *Common-wealth Party*, oblig'd him to lay the Thoughts of it aside, at least for that Time. Yet 'tis probable these high Aims did not die, but with himself: For to be able with the help of *Spanish* Gold to carry on his Design in *England*, without depending upon a Parliament for Money, is thought was the true Motive of his Attempt upon *St. Domingo*; which was the only Action of War he fail'd in.

But notwithstanding his specious Pretences to the contrary,

trary, *Cromwell* invaded and betray'd the Liberties of his Country, and acted a more Tyrannical and Arbitrary Part than all the Kings of *England* together had done since the *Norman* Conquest. And yet after all, his good Fortune accompanied him to the last; for after a long Chain of Success, he died in Peace, and in the Arms of his Friends; was buried among the Kings with a Royal Pomp, and his Death condol'd by the greatest Princes and States of Christendom, in solemn Embassies to his Son.

But this is not all; for whatever Reasons the House of *Austria* had to hate the Memory of *Cromwell*, yet his causing the *Portugal* Ambassador's Brother to be executed for a Tumult in *London*, notwithstanding his Plea of being a publick Minister, as well as his Brother, was near twenty Years after *Cromwell's* Death, brought as a Precedent by the present Emperor, to justify his arresting and carrying off the Prince of *Furstenburgh* at the Treaty of *Cologne*, notwithstanding *Furstenburgh's* being a Plenipotentiary for the Elector of that Name. And in the printed Manifesto publish'd by the Emperor upon that Occasion, this piece of *Cromwell's* Justice in executing the *Portuguese* Gentleman, is related at large.

To sum up *Cromwell's* Character, 'tis observable, That as the Ides of *March* were equally fortunate and fatal to *Julius Caesar*, another famous Invader of the Liberties of his Country; so was the third of *September* to *Oliver Cromwell*: For on that Day he was born; on that Day he fought the three great Battles of *Marston-Moor*, *Worcester*, and *Dunbar*; and on that Day he died.

Cromwell died in the peaceable Possession of the Sovereign Power, tho' disguis'd under another Name, and left it to a Son that had neither Heart nor Abilities to keep it. The Genius of the Nation return'd to its natural Byass; and Monarchy was so interwoven with the Laws, customs, and the first Threads of the English Constitution, that it was altogether impossible it could be ever totally worn out.

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out. Our Ancestors had wisely settled themselves upon that Bottom; and those very Men that some Years before had justled out Monarchy, upon the Account of its Encroachments upon the Rights of the People, were become as zealous now to restore it again, upon the Encroachments that the assuming part of the People had made of late upon the Rights of their Fellow-Subjects. For near two Years together after *Cromwell's* Death, the Government of *England* under-went various Shapes, and every Month almost produc'd a new Scheme; till in the End all these Convulsions co-operated to turn the Nation again upon its true and antient Basis. Thence it was, that the Son of King *Charles I.* after ten Years Exile, was restor'd to his Father's Throne in the Year 1660. without Blood, or any remarkable Opposition.

This Revolution was the more to be admir'd, since not only all Attempts to bring King *Charles* back by Force of Arms, prov'd ineffectual; but that notwithstanding upon *Cromwell's* Death, every Thing at home seem'd to concur to his Restoration, yet the bare Name of an *English* Parliament, tho' but the Shadow of what formerly it was, continu'd to be so terrible abroad, that neither *France* nor *Spain* durst venture to give King *Charles* the least Assistance to regain his Throne; but on the contrary, were oblig'd to treat him in a Manner altogether unworthy of a crown'd Head: As appears by the following Instances at the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*.

King *Charles* after having in vain sought a Sanctuary in *France*, was necessitated to throw himself upon the Friendship of *Spain*. He was at *Brussels* when he receiv'd the News of the Disposition that was in *England* to restore him; just at the Time the Conferences were to begin between Cardinal *Mazarine* and Don

The Restoration of King Charles II.

The Behaviour of the French and Spaniards to King Charles II. at the Treaty of the Pyrenees.

Lewis de Haro, the two Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Spain*, in order to a General Peace. This determin'd King *Charles* to take Post from *Brussels* through *France*, to the Place of Treaty, that he might in person represent his Interests to these two Ministers. He judg'd the *Spaniards* had reason to be Enemies to the then Government in *England*, for not only having taken *Dunkirk* and *Jamaica* from them, and enter'd into a League with *Portugal* against them, but for endeavouring all that was possible to persuade the *French* to continue the War. Upon the other hand, it was but reasonable to think that *France* could not be well pleas'd to see the *English* Masters of such a Frontier Town as *Dunkirk*; or that *Mazarine*, the most ambitious Man upon Earth, would not be willing to raise his own Glory, by espousing the Cause of an exil'd Prince, especially when there was so great probability of Success.

Notwithstanding all these plausible Appearances, King *Charles* made this long Journey to no Purpose. 'Tis true, *Don Lewis de Haro* receiv'd him with all possible Marks of Respect: But the Cardinal positively deny'd him Access. All he could be brought to, after several Messages from the King, was to allow the Duke of *Ormond* to talk to him upon the Road from *St. Jean de Luz* to the Place of Treaty, as if it had been but an accidental Rencontre. *Ormond* obtain'd nothing of the Cardinal, but general and ambiguous Answers: till being press'd, he told *Ormond* plainly, *That all his Master could do for his Cousin the King of England, was to compassionate his Misfortunes; as not being in a condition himself to break with the Government of England, with which his Affairs oblig'd him to keep a good Correspondence.* Over and above this neglect of *Mazarine's*, King *Charles* had the mortification to see Ambassador *Lockhart* receiv'd at the same Time with the greatest Pomp and Splendor, having the Cardinal's Coaches and Guards sent a Day's Journey

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Journey to receive him, and the Cardinal giving him the right Hand, which was a respect he denied the Ambassadors of crown'd Heads. Nor was *Don Lewis* kinder upon the Matter to King *Charles*, notwithstanding all his Civilities; for having ask'd the Command of the Army in *Flanders*, which the Prince of *Conde* was by the Treaty oblig'd to quit, *Don Lewis* refus'd it. All which will be a lasting Example to Posterity, how little Trust is to be repos'd in Foreign Aid, when a Prince comes to need it, for recovering his Throne.

It were the highest Injustice to deny General *Monk* the greatest share of the Honour in restoring King *Charles II.* and yet it is a Question whether his Design to do it, was of so long standing as some have reported. 'Tis probable he had no Thoughts that Way, till about the Time that *Richard Cromwell* was depriv'd of the Government: In which he was afterwards the more confirm'd, upon the Army in *England's* setting up once more for themselves. If he had really form'd an Intention at that Time to bring back the King, it must be confess'd he acted the part of a Politician much better than that of a Christian; for he declar'd once again at that Time, for a Common-wealth, without the King, a single Person, or House of Lords; and formarly renounc'd the Family of the *Stuarts*. All which will appear by a Letter sign'd by him and his Officers to the Parliament upon *Richard's* Abdication, and the Declaration it self, mention'd at length in the Appendix.

Monk's part in the Restoration.

Appendix,
Numb. 11.

'Tis hardly to be imagin'd he had a mind to set up for himself, as his Enemies have giv'n out; for he could not but see the whole Nation was returning apace to their ancient Monarchical Principles; and therefore he had little else to do, but to comply a while with the Times, till by declaring for a Free Parliament, he pav'd the Way for

the King's Return. 'Tis certain the People that then assum'd the Supreme Power, were Jealous of his Intentions; and it was within an Ace he escap'd a Trap laid for him, just at the Time when he was ready to march from *Scotland*, which would have inevitably ruin'd his Design, if a mere Accident had not interven'd.

For *Monk* keeping his ordinary Residence at *Dalkeith*, some four Miles on this side of *Edinburgh*; the *London* Pacquet touch'd constantly there, that the General might have his Letter's before it reach'd *Edinburgh*. The Committee of Safety being resolv'd to secure *Monk*, dispatch'd secret Orders to *Scotland* by the ordinary Pacquet, lest an Express might give Suspicion; and instead of Directing the Label for *Dalkeith*, as was usual, it was order'd strait for *Edinburgh*. It happen'd that one of *Monk's* Lifeguard met accidentally the Post turning out of the Road that led to *Dalkeith*; and finding he had not touch'd there, he brought him back, notwithstanding the Label was directed otherwise. *Monk* suspecting something, open'd all the Letters that he found directed to the Officers of the Army; among which there was one from the Committee of Safety to Colonel *Thomas Wilks*, ordering him to use the most effectual, speedy, and secret Way to secure the Person of General *Monk*, and to send him up to *London* under a strong Guard, in a Frigate that lay in *Leith* Road; and then to take upon him the Command of the Army till farther Order.

Having taken out this, and what other Letters he thought fit, together with his own from the same Committee, full of high Compliments, and Expressions of Trust, he sent away the packet as it was directed. But having communicated the Matter to some of his particular Friends, he gave Orders for a general Review of the Army to be made next Morning at *Edinburgh*, where he arrested Colonel *Wilks*, and some other Officers he had reason to suspect, and sent them Prisoners to the Castle;

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Monk in his march through *England*, and after he came to *London*, carried on the Thread of Dissimulation with wonderful dexterity, till all Things were fully ripe for throwing off the Mask, and calling home the King. As he was singularly happy in being the chief Instrument of that Revolution, he was no less in the Sense King *Charles* continu'd to express of so great an Obligation. And it shew'd him to be a Man of true Judgment, That the Duke of *Albermarle* behav'd himself in such a Manner to the Prince he had thus oblig'd, as never to seem to over-value the Services of General *Monk*,

King *Charles* II. prov'd one of the finest Gentlemen of the Age, and had Abilities to make one of the best of Kings. The first Years of his Reign were a continued Jubilee. And while we were reaping the Fruits of Peace at home, after the Miseries of a long Civil War, a potent Neighbour was laying the Foundation of a Power abroad, that has since been the Envy and Terror of *Europe*. One might have thought that his Parliament had glutted his Ambition to the full, by heaping those Prerogatives upon him, which had been contested for with his Father, at the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure: But he grasp'd early after more, and from his first Accession to the Crown, shew'd but little Inclination to depend upon Parliaments. Of which we have a remarkable Instance in an Affair that was one of the true Causes of the Disgrace of that Great Man, Chancellor *Clarendon*, which happen'd a few Years after.

It looks as if Heaven took a more than ordinary Care of *England*, that we did not throw up our Liberties all at once, upon the Restoration of that King; for tho' some were for bringing him back upon Terms, yet after he was once come, he possess'd so intirely the Hearts of his People that they thought nothing was too much for them

to grant, or for him to receive. Among other Designs to please him, there was one form'd at Court, to settle such a Revenue upon him by Parliament during Life, as should place him beyond the necessity of asking more, except in the Case of a War, or some such extraordinary Occasion. The Earl of *Southampton*, Lord High Treasurer, came heartily into it, out of a mere Principle of Honour and Affection to the King; but Chancellor *Clarendon* secretly oppos'd it. It happen'd that they two had a private Conference about the Matter; and the Chancellor being earnest to bring the Treasurer to his Opinion, took the freedom to tell him, that he was better acquainted with the King's Temper and Inclinations, than *Southampton* could reasonably expect to be, having had long and intimate Acquaintance with his Majesty abroad; and that he knew him so well, that if such a Revenue was once settled upon him for Life, neither of them two would be of any further use; and that they were not in Probability to see many more Sessions of Parliament during that Reign. *Southampton* was brought over; but this Passage could not be kept so secret, but it came to King *Charles* his Ears, which together with other Things wherein *Clarendon* was misrepresented to him, prov'd the true Reason why he abandon'd him to his Enemies.

Notwithstanding this Disappointment, King *Charles* made a shift, partly by his obliging Carriage, partly by other Inducements, to get more Money from his first Parliament towards the Expence of his pleasures, than all his Predecessors of the *Norman* Race, had obtain'd before, towards the Charges of their Wars. This Parliament had like to have been perpetual; if the Vigor where-with they began to prosecute the Popish plot, and the Resentment they express'd against his Brother, had not oblig'd him, much against his Will, to part with them, after they had sat near nineteen Years.

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That there was at that Time a Popish Plot, and that there always has been one since the Reformation, to support, if not restore the Romish Religion in England, scarce any body calls in Question. How far the near Prospect of a Popish Successor ripen'd the Hopes, and gave new Vigor to the Designs of that Party, and what Methods they were then upon, to bring those Designs about, *Colemans's* Letters alone, without any other concurring Evidence, are more than sufficient to put the Matter out of doubt. But what Superstructures might have been afterwards built upon an unquestionable Foundation, and how far some of the Witnesses of that Plot might come to darken Truth by subsequent Additions of their own, must be defer'd till the great Account, to be made before a higher Tribunal: And till then, a great part of the Popish Plot, as it was then sworn to, will in all human Probability lie among the darkeſt Scenes of our *English* History. However, this is certain, the Discovery of the Popish Plot had great and various Effects upon the Nation: And 'tis from this remarkable Period of Time, we may justly reckon a new *Æra* in the *English* Account.

In the first Place, it awaken'd the Nation out of a deep Lethargy they had been in for nineteen Years together; and alarm'd them with Fears and Jealousies that have been found to our sad Experience but too well grounded. In the next, it gave the Rise to, at least settled that unhappy Distinction of *Whig* and *Tory* among the People of *England*, that has since occasion'd so many Mischiefs. And lastly the Discovery of the Popish plot began that open Struggle between King *Charles* and his People, that occasion'd him not only to dissolve his first Favourite Parliament, and the three others that succeeded; but likewise to call no more during the rest of his Reign. All which made way for bringing in question the Charters of *London*, and other Corporations,

ons, with a great many dismal Effects that follow'd. It was likewise about this Time, that a certain Set of Men began a second Time to adopt into our Religion a Mahometan Principle, under the Names of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance; which since the Time of the Impostor that first broach'd it, has been the Means to enslave a great Part of the World.

The great share which the Duke of York *The Bill of Exclusion.* was suppos'd to have had very early, in a Design to overturn our Religion and Liberties, and the mighty Hopes which the near Prospect of a Popish Successor gave the Roman Catholics, of bringing about their grand Project of rooting out the *Northern* Heresy, were the Reasons why a great part of both Houses of Parliament had recourse to a Bill of Exclusion against the Duke, as the only effectual Means they could think on in that juncture, to prevent our intended Ruin. This Prince had been privately reconcil'd to *Rome* in the time of his Exile: But it seems it was not thought convenient he should declare himself till several Years after. And tho' he had abandon'd the Worship of the Church of *England*, it was accounted an heinous Crime to say he was a *Roman* Catholick, when every body knew that he was one; and some were fin'd in great Sums of Money for saying it. King *Charles's* Conversion (if we believe *Huddleston* the Priest) was of an older Date: But, if true, he either wanted Courage, or thought it not his Interest to declare himself in his Life-time. If he had any Design of introducing Popery, he knew the Temper of the Nation too well, to imagine it could be brought about in a short Time, or by such open and barefac'd Methods as his Brother was pleas'd afterwards to put in Practice.

But the Truth is, King *Charles* was neither Bigot enough to any Religion, nor lov'd his Ease so little, as to embark in a Business that must at least have disturb'd his Quiet, if not hazarded his Crown. The Romish Emis-

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faries knowing this, were resolv'd to make sure of one of the Brothers: And the Duke was now the rising Sun; King *Charles* having no prospect of Issue by the Queen. It was not the Roman Catholicks alone, that began to pay him their early Devotions; there were others that came nothing short of them in their Addresses to him. He had in the Time of his Banishment, and after the Restoration, acquir'd the Reputation of being Brave, and skill'd in the Art of War: *Flanders* and the Ocean were the Theatres on which he had given unquestionable Proofs of both; having commanded the *Spanish* Horse in the one, and the *English* Fleet on the other. From a Prince thus possess'd of a Warlike Character, and thus devoted to the See of *Rome*, it was no wonder the Roman Catholicks expected, and the Protestants fear'd some extraordinary Change in *England*, if ever he should come to wear the Crown. And therefore as it was the Interest of the first to have him upon the Throne, so it was equally the Interest of the latter to exclude him from it.

'Tis said King *Charles* came in at first to the Bill of Exclusion, or seem'd to do so. The Favourite Mistress was prevail'd with, from secret Motives and Prospects of her own, to concur with others in persuading him to abandon his Brother; and waving the Duke's Right, to accept of an Act of Parliament in his own Favour, like that made in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* by which he should have a Power invested in him, to dispose of the Crown at his Death, under such Restrictions and Limitations as should be agreed on.

Whether any such Act was really intended, 'tis hard to determine; but 'tis certain such an Offer was made to King *Charles*, with a Promise of a considerable Sum of Money towards the supplying his Pressing Wants. 'Tis likewise certain, that King *Charles* seem'd willing to accept of it; till it happen'd that a Foreign Court, whose Interest it was to support the Duke of *York*, struck up a

Bargain with the King, to give him more Money for refusing, than had been offer'd him for consenting to the Bill of Exclusion.

Some Time before the Popish Plot came upon the Stage, King *Charles* had been prevail'd with to marry the Eldest of his Nieces to the Prince of *Orange*, as he did afterwards the Youngest to the Prince of *Denmark*: The happiest Actions of his Life, and by which he made a sufficient Atonement for all the Errors of his Reign. It were Ingratitude to enquire too narrowly into the Motives that induc'd him to these Matches: 'Tis enough to entail a lasting Honour on his Name, that he did it, and did it against the Advice of his Brother, and in spite of all the Sollicitations that were made to him from abroad, to marry them to Princes of the Romish Religion. The Parliament had in their View the Princess of *Orange* in the Bill of Exclusion, and it was She and the Prince her Husband that were to have fill'd the Throne, upon the Death of their Uncle. But King *Charles* either not daring, or not willing to consent to the Bill, he dissolv'd both that and the next Parliament at *Oxford*, merely to ward off the Blow that threaten'd his Brother.

After the Dissolution of the *Oxford* Parliament, King *Charles* shew'd but little Inclination to call any more; and was prevail'd with to enter into harsher Measures than hitherto he had taken; and which seem'd contrary to his natural Goodness and Temper. The Charters of the City of *London*, and other Corporations, stood in the Way of an absolute Government; and it was resolv'd to break through this Barrier. In order to which, *Quo Warranto's* were brought against them; and in progress of Time they were either surrender'd by the Corporations themselves, or vacated in *Westminster-Hall*, by a set of Judges pickt out for that Purpose. And it was resolv'd thereby to make one of the Estates of Parliament depend entirely upon the Will and Nomination of the Prince.

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While these *Quo Warranto's* were going on, whole Peals of Anathema's were rung out against those Patriots that had stood up for the Liberties of their Country in the preceding Parliaments. And it was look'd upon as a Crime against the State, for any one to regret the approaching Fate of his Country. Even the Holy Scriptures themselves were made a Stale for Arbitrary Power; and the Laws which were given to the *Jews* as they were a Political State, were now brought in upon every Occasion, to countenance the Designs of the Court. As if those Laws which were intended only to support the Political Government of the *Jews*, were the real Foundation of the Christian Religion; or that the Constitution of *England* was founded upon the *Jewish* Doctrine. All which was not much for the Honour of those Gentlemen that broach'd that Notion. This was a Time never to be forgot, when to wish well to our Country, was a Crime; and when Heaven it self was rank'd upon our Enemies side, by some that pretended to expound its Will. In some Places a new kind of Funeral Harangues came in fashion: Our Laws, our Liberties, our Parliaments, our Native Rights were to be buried; but instead of dropping a Tear at their Funeral, fulsom Panegyricks were made upon their Murderers, and Curses denounc'd against those that would have retriev'd them from Destruction.

All these Transactions were attended with the publick Disgrace of the Duke of *Munmouth*. This Gentleman stood possess'd of all the Qualities requisite to gain him the Love of the People, and stir up the Jealousy of the Duke of *York*. King *Charles* had heap'd Honours upon him; and nothing pleas'd him so much as to see him Great. He had been sent to *Scotland* in the Year 1679. to suppress an Insurrection which the Severity of *Lauderdale's* Administration had occasion'd; where his Lenity towards a

The Disgrace of the Duke of Munmouth, and its Consequences.

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*The Disgrace
of the Duke of
Munmouth,
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People made by Oppression mad, gain'd him the ill-will of a predominant Party at Court. The Zeal he shew'd some Time after in the Prosecution of the Popish Plot, and his Friendships with some that were profess'd Enemies to the Duke, concurr'd to his Fall. Yet King *Charles* still continued underhand the same Tenderness for him; tho' he was declar'd in publick to be in disgrace. The Duke's Faction at home, and a Foreign Interest abroad, were too powerful for King *Charles* to grapple with, even tho' the Fortune of a Favourite Son was at Stake.

The more he was depress'd by the *The Protestant* Envy of his Uncle, the higher he arose in the Affections of the People; till the *Plot.*

breaking out of what was call'd the Protestant Plot, overwhelm'd not only him, but a whole Party with him. This Plot was in some part a greater Mystery than the Popish Plot had been before, and had more dismal Effects. The shatter'd Remains of *English* Liberty were then attack'd on every side; and some of the noblest Blood in the Nation was offer'd up a Sacrifice to the *Manes* of Popish Martyrs, and made to atone for the Bill of Exclusion. Swearing came once more into fashion, and a new Evidence-Office was erected at *Whitehall*. But whereas the Witnesses of the Popish Plot were brow-beaten and discourag'd; those of the Protestant Plot were highly encourag'd; and instead of Judges and Juries that might perhaps boggle at Half-Evidence, as it fell out in the Prosecution of the former; care was taken in this to pick out such as should stick at nothing to serve a Turn. It was by such Judges and Juries that the Lord *Ruffel* and Mr. *Sidney* fell; and the cutting off those two Noble Lives, may be reckon'd among the first Triumphs of the Duke's Party in *England*.

'Tis true, King *Charles* seem'd inclin'd to pardon both the one and the other; and the very Day the Lord *Ruffel* was executed, some Words escap'd him, that shew'd sufficiently

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ciently his Irresolution in that Matter: But by this Time he was too far gone, to make a handsome Retreat on a sudden; and there was observ'd ever after, a sensible Change in his Temper: for from an Easiness and Debonairness that was natural to him, he came at length to treat Men with hard Names, and upon some Occasions to express a Severity in his Disposition, that he had been ever averse to before.

The rest of that Reign was one continued Invasion upon the Rights of the People, and the Nation seem'd unwilling now to contend for the many more. King *Charles* notwithstanding his great Abilities and Fitness for Business, appear'd to be quite lull'd asleep with the Charms of a new swell'd-up Prerogative: and while some of our Neighbours were playing their Game to the Prejudice of *England* abroad, and the Duke's Creatures were managing all Things to their own Mind at Home; Nature prevail'd upon King *Charles* at length, and the shame of seeing himself impos'd upon by others far short of him in Parts, and that the Court was anticipating his Death, by their Addresses to his Brother, as if he had been already King, did help to awaken him out of his Slumber, and brought him to lay a Project for a mighty Change in the Affairs of *England*, which probably might have made both him and the Nation happy. If he had liv'd but a few Weeks longer, *Monmouth* had been recall'd to Court, the Duke of *York* had been sent beyond Sea, and a new Parliament conven'd. But what farther was to follow, must be buried with his Ashes, there being nothing left us but bare Suspicions of what might have been. This is certain, his Death came opportunely for the Duke; and in such a Manner, and with such Circumstances, as will be a Problem to Posterity, whether he died a natural Death, or was hasten'd to his Grave by Treachery.

In so nice a Point as this is, it becomes one that would write impartially, to set down with the exactest Fidelity, every

*The Death of
K. Charles II.*

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Thing of moment of either Side, that may determine the Reader in his Judgment, without venturing to give his own. This Rule I have set to my self, in laying down the following Particulars.

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'Tis confess'd few Princes come to die a sudden Death, but the World is apt to attribute it to foul Play, especially if attended with unusual Circumstances in the Time and Manner of it. King *Charles* had a healthful Constitution beyond most Men, and took great Care to preserve it by Diet and Exercise, which naturally promise a long Life. And it was more extraordinary to see such a Man die before Threescore, than another in the Bloom of Youth. Now if he died a natural Death, 'tis agreed by all, that it must have been an Apoplexy. This Disease seizes all the Vital Faculties at once; and yet for the most part, does not only give some short Warnings of its Approach, by unusual Affections of the Head, but many Times is occasion'd by some evident preceding Cause. In King *Charles's* Case, there appear'd no visible Cause either near, or remote, to which with any certainty of Reason, his Disease could be ascrib'd; and the Forerunners of it were rather to be found in the Stomach and Bowels, than in the Head. For after he was a-bed, he was over-heard to groan most of the Night: And both then, and next Morning, before he fell into the *Fit*, he complain'd first of a heavy Oppression in his Stomach, and about his Heart, and afterwards of a sharp Pain in those Parts; all which Symptoms had but little Relation to an Apoplexy. That Morning there appear'd to every body about him a Ghastliness and Paleness in his Looks: And when he sat down to be shav'd, just before the *Fit* took him, he could not sit streight as he used to do, but continued in a stooping Posture, with his Hand upon his Stomach, till the *Fit* came. After he had been brought out of it by opening a Vein, he complain'd

plain'd of a racking Pain in his Stomach, and of no Indisposition any where else: And during the whole Time of his Sickness, and even when he seem'd most insensible, he was observed to lay his Hand for the most part upon his Stomach, in a moaning Posture, and continued so to his Death. And so violent was the Pain, that when all hopes were gone, the Physicians were desir'd to use all their Art to procure him an easy Death.

So much for the Distemper itself: There remain some Things to be taken Notice of, that fell out before and after his Death. A few Days before he was taken ill, King *Charles* being in Company where the present Posture of Affairs was discours'd of, there escap'd him some warm Expressions about the uneasy Circumstances he was plung'd into, and the ill Measures had been given him; and how in a certain particular Affair he was pleas'd to mention he had been abus'd; Adding in some Passion, *That if he liv'd but a Month longer, he would find a way to make himself easy for the rest of his Life.* This Passage was whisper'd abroad next Day; and the Rumour of recalling the Duke of *Munmouth*, and sending away the Duke of *York*, came to take Air about the same Time. Indeed all Things were making ready, to put the latter in Execution: and there is reason to believe the King had intimated as much to the Duke himself; for some of his Richest Furniture was put up, and his chief Servants order'd to be in a readiness to attend their Master upon an Hour's Warning, and Yachts were waiting to transport some Person of Quality, without mentioning who it was, or whither bound. The Romish Party that manag'd about Court, were observ'd to be more than ordinary diligent and busy up and down *Whitehall* and *St James's*, as if some very Important Affair was in Agitation; and a new and unusual Concern was to be seen on their Countenances. Nor was it any wonder; for in this suspected Change they were like to be the only Losers, and all their teeming Hopes were in a fair Way to be disappointed. How far the Principles of
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some of that Party might leave them at Liberty to push on their Revenge for this design'd Affront, as well as to prevent the Blow that threaten'd them, tho' without the Privacy, much less the Consent of the Duke of York, is left to the Reader to judge.

There was a Foreign Minister, that some Days before the King fell ill, order'd his Steward to buy a considerable Parcel of black Cloth, which serv'd him and his Retinue after for mourning: And the late Ambassador *Don Pedro Ronquillo*, made it no Secret, that he had a Letter from *Flanders* the Week before King *Charles* died, that took Notice of his Death, as the News there. But both these might fall out by mere Accident.

There remain two Things more, that deserve some Consideration in this Matter. When his Body was open'd, there was not sufficient Time given for taking an exact Observation of his Stomach and Bowels; which one would think ought chiefly to have been done, considering the violent Pains he had there: And when a certain Physician seem'd to be more inquisitive than ordinary about the Condition of those Parts, he was taken aside, and reprov'd for his *needleless Curiosity*. In the next Place, his Body stunk so extremely within a few Hours after his Death, notwithstanding the Coldness of the Season, that the People about him were extremely offended with Smell: Which is a Thing very extraordinary in one of his strong and healthful Constitution; and is not a proper Consequent of a mere *Apoplethical Distemper*.

There was some Weight laid upon an Accident that fell out at *Windsor* some Years before his Death: For the King drinking more liberally than usual, after the Fatigue of Riding, he retir'd to the next Room; and wrapping himself up in his Cloak, fell asleep upon a Couch. He was but a little Time come back to the Company, when a Servant belonging to one of them, lay down upon the same Couch, in the King's Cloak, and was found stabb'd dead

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dead with a Ponyard. Nor was it ever known how it happen'd but the Matter hush'd up, and no Enquiry made about it.

To conclude; Dr. *Short*, who was a Man of great Probity and Learning, and a Roman Catholick, made no scruple to declare his Opinion to some of his intimate Friends, that he believ'd King *Charles* had foul Play done him: And when he came to die himself, express'd some Suspicion that he had met with the same Treatment for opening his Mind too freely in that Point.

So much for the Circumstances of King *Charles's* Death, that seem to have an ill Aspect. There are others that seem to destroy all Suspicions of Treachery in the Matter. As First, He had liv'd so fast, as might enervate in a great Measure the Natural Force of his Constitution; and exhaust his Animal Spirits; and therefore he might be more subject to an Apoplexy, which is a Disease that weakens and locks up these Spirits from performing their usual Functions. And though in his later Years he had given himself up more to the Pleasures of Wine than of Women, that might rather be the Effect of Age than of Choice.

Next, 'tis known he had been once or twice attack'd before, with Fits that much resembled those of which he afterwards died: And yet as the Manner of them is told, they look rather to have been *Convulsive Motions*, than an *Apoplexy*; seeing they were attended with violent Contortions of his Face, and Convulsions of his whole Body and Limbs. This is the more confirm'd, by a Passage that happen'd during the Heat of the Popish Plot. King *Charles* had some secret Matters to manage at that Time, by the Means of a Romish Priest, then beyond Sea, whom he order'd to be privately sent for: And the Gentleman employ'd betwixt the King and him (from whom I had the Story) was directed to bring him in Disguise to *Whitehall*. The King and the Priest were a considerable Time together alone in the Closet, and the Gentleman attended

in the next Room: At last the Priest came out with all the Marks of Fright and Astonishment in his Face; and having recover'd himself a little, he told the Gentleman, That he had run the greatest Risque ever Man did; for while he was with the King, his Majesty was suddenly surpriz'd with a Fit, accompanied with violent Convulsions of his Body, and Contorsions of his Face, which lasted for some Moments; and when he was going to call out for help, the King held him by force till it was over, and then bid him not be afraid, for he had been troubled with the like before: the Priest adding what a Condition he should have been in, considering his Religion, and the present Juncture of Affairs, if the King had died of that Fit, and no body in the Room with him besides himself.

But leaving the Story to the Credit of the Priest; there might be another Natural Cause assign'd for King *Charles's* falling into such a Fit as that of which he died; which is this: He had had for some Time an Issue in his Leg, which run much, and consequently must have made a great Revulsion from his Head, upon which account 'tis probable it was made. A few Weeks before his Death, he had let it be dried up, contrary to the Advice of his Physicians, who told him it would prejudice his Health. Their Prognostick was partly true in this, that their came a painful Tumour upon the Place where the Issue had been, which proved very obstinate, and was not thoroughly heal'd up, when he died.

In fine, it is agreed on all Hands, that King *Charles* express'd no Suspicion of his being poison'd, during all the Time of his Sicknesh: Tho' it must be also observ'd, that the Fits were so violent, that he could not speak when they were upon him, and shew'd an Aversion to speaking during the Intervals. And there was not any Thing to be seen upon opening his Body, that could reasonably be attributed to the force of Poison. Yet to allow these Considerations no more weight than they can well bear, this must

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must be acknowledg'd, That there are Poisons which affect originally the animal Spirits, and are of so subtle a Nature, that they leave no concluding Marks upon the Bodies of those they kill.

Thus reign'd, and thus dy'd King Charles II. a Prince endow'd with *the Character* all the Qualities that might justly *of King.* Charles II. have render'd him the Delight of Mankind, and entitled him to the Character of one of the greatest Genius's that ever sat upon a Throne, if he had not sullied those excellent Parts with the soft Pleasures of Ease, and had not entertain'd a fatal Friendship, that was incompatible with the Interest of *England.* His Religion was Deism, or rather that which is call'd so: and if in his Exile, or at his Death, he went into that of *Rome*; the first was to be imputed to a Complaisance for the Company he was then oblig'd to keep, and the last to a lazy Diffidence in all other Religions, upon a Review of his past Life, and the near Approach of an uncertain State. His Person was tall and well made, his Constitution vigorous and healthy; and 'tis hard to determine, whether he took more pains to preserve it by Diet and Exercise, or to impair it by Excess in his Pleasures. In Health he was a great Pretender to Physick, and Encourager of Quacks, by whom he was often cheated of considerable Sums of Money for their pretended Secrets: But whenever he was indispos'd, he consulted his Physicians, and depended on their Skill only.

His Face was compos'd of harsh Features, difficult to be trac'd with the Pencil, yet in the main it was agreeable; and he had a noble Majestick Mein. In contradiction to all the common receiv'd Rules of Physiognomy, he was Merciful, Good-natur'd, and in the last twenty four Years of his Life, Fortunate, if to succeed in most of his Designs, may be call'd so. Never Prince lov'd Ceremony less, or despis'd the Pageantry of a Crown more;

yet he was Master of something in his Person and Aspect, that commanded both Love and Veneration at once. He was a great Votary to Love, and yet the easiest and most unconcern'd Rival. He was for the most part not very nice in the choice of his Mistresses, and seldom possess'd of their first Favours, yet would sacrifice all to please them; and upon every Caprice of theirs, denied himself the use of his Reason, and acted contrary to his Interest. He was a Respectful Civil Husband; a fond Father, a kind Brother, an easy Enemy; but none of the firmest or most grateful Friends: Bountiful by starts; one day Lavish to his Servants, the next leaving them to starve: Glad to win a little Money at Play, and impatient to lose but the thousandth part of what within an Hour after he would throw away in gross. He seem'd to have had nothing of Jealousy in his Nature, either in Matters of Love or Power. He bore patiently Rivals in the one, and Competitors in the other; otherwise he would not have contributed to a Foreign Greatness at Sea, nor given his Brother so uncontroul'd a share in the Government.

Tho' his Understanding was quick and lively, with a vast Compass of Thought, yet he would submit his Judgment in greatest Matters, to others of much inferior Parts: And as he had an extraordinary share of Wit himself, so he loved it in others even when pointed against his own Faults and Mismanagements. He had read but little, yet had a good Taste of Learning, and would reason nicely upon most Sciences. The Mechanicks were one of his peculiar Talents, especially the Art of building and working of Ships, which no body understood better, nor, if he had liv'd, would have carried it farther. He had a strong Laconick way of Expression, and a Genteel, Easy, and polite Way of writing: and when he had a mind to lay aside the King, which he often did in select Companies of his own, there were a thousand irresistible Charms in his Conversation. He lov'd Money only to spend it: And would
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privately accept of a small Sum paid to himself, in lieu of a far greater to be paid into the Exchequer.

He lov'd not Business, and sought every Occasion to avoid it; which was one reason that he pass'd so much of his Time with his Mistresses: Yet when Necessity call'd him, none of his Council could reason more closely upon Matters of State; and he would often by fits out-do his Ministers in Application and Diligence. No Age produc'd a greater Master in Art of Dissimulation; and no Man was less upon his Guard, or sooner deceiv'd in the Sincerity of others. If he had any one fix'd Maxim of Government, it was to play one Party against another, to be thereby the more Master of both: And no Prince understood better how to shift Hands upon every Change of the Scene. To sum up his Character, he was dextrous in all the Arts of Insinuation; and had acquir'd so great an Ascendant over the Affections of his People, in spite of all the unhappy Measures he had taken, that it may in some sense be said, He died opportunely for *England*; since if he had liv'd, 'tis probable we might in Compliance with him have complimented our selves out of all the Remains of Liberty, if he had had but amind to be Master of them; which 'tis but Charity to believe he had not, at least immediately before his Death.

There is one Thing more that may help to make up the Character of this Prince, That in the Lines and Shape of his Face (all but the Teeth) he had a great Resemblance of the antient Bustoes and Statues we have of the Emperor *Tiberius*; insomuch that one of the most Learned Men of his Age told me, That walking in the *Farnesian* Gardens at *Rome*, with a noble *Italian* that had been at the Court of *England*, he took Notice of this Resemblance in an Antique Statue of *Tiberius*; and asking the *Italian* if he remember'd any Prince he had seen that resembled it, the other immediately nam'd King *Charles*. As there was a great Likeness betwixt these two Princes in their

their Faces, there was likewise some in their Maxims of Government, the Time of their Age in which they came to govern, the length of their Reigns, and the Suspicions about the Manner of their Death. And indeed, excepting *Tiberius's* Temper, his Cruelty, Jealousy, and unnatural Lusts, any one that's acquainted with both their Stories, will easily find something of a Parallel betwixt them. Nor is this any Reflection upon the Memory of King *Charles*; for except in what I nam'd, *Tiberius* may be reckon'd among the wisest and the bravest of those that wore the Imperial Purple.

Upon King *Charles's* Death, *James Duke The Reign of* of York mounted the Throne, by the Name of King *James II.* All the former Heats and Animosities against him, and even the very Memory of a Bill of Exclusion, seem'd to be now quite forgot, amidst the loud Acclamations of his People at his Accession to the Crown. He had many Years of Experience when he came to it; and few of his Predecessors could boast of the like Advantages: In most of the Transactions of the preceding Reign, he had born a considerable Share as to Action, but much more as to Counsel and Influence. In the Post Lord High Admiral of *England*, he had large Opportunities to be fully acquainted with the native Strength, and peculiar Interest of the Nation, I mean the Affairs of the Navy; in which he had acquir'd deservedly a great Reputation. He had met with but too many Occasions to understand the Genius and Temper of the People he was to govern, and to know how far it was impracticable to overturn the establish'd Religion, or to introduce a new one; for he had wrestled through a great many Difficulties upon the account of his own. He could not but have a true value for his Brother's great Parts and Abilities, and be acquainted with the Arts by which he gain'd and preserv'd the Affections of his People, notwithstanding all the Hardships he had been induc'd

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duc'd sometimes to put upon them: And he had seen how fearful and averse he had been to push Things too far, or to drive his Subjects to Extremities.

He had before him the fatal Example of a Father, who tho' he was a Protestant, yet upon a false Suspicion of having a Design to introduce Popery, was sent to his Grave by a violent Death; and he was past Childhood when that Tragedy happen'd and had suffer'd ten Years Banishment, among other Consequences that attended it. He had been acquainted abroad with a

Princess fam'd for Parts and Learning, who resign'd her Crown, apprehending she might be divested of it for embracing the Romish Religion, by those

Christina the
late Queen of
Sweden.

very Subjects that held her before in the greatest Veneration, both upon her own account, and that of a Father, who had rais'd them to the highest Pitch of Glory that ever the *Swedish* Nation arriv'd to. And he might have remember'd what his Mother said upon her Return to *Somerset-House* after the Restoration, *That if she had known the Temper of the People of England some Years past, as well as she did then, she had never been oblig'd to leave that House.* But the History of his Ancestors might have more fully inform'd him, That those that grasp'd at immoderate Power, or a Prerogative above the Law, were always unfortunate, and their Reigns Inglorious.

There was also a Passage at his Father's Death, which he would have done well to have observ'd: He deliver'd his *George* to Dr. *Juxon* upon the Scaffold, and bid him Remember, without saying more. The Council of State was willing to know the meaning of that Expression, and call'd the Doctor before them, to give them an Account of it; who told them, *That the King immediately before his coming out to the Place of Execution, had charg'd him to carry to the Prince his Son, his George, with these his two last Commands, That he should forgive his Murderers: And*
That

That if he ever came to the Crown, he should so govern his Subjects, as not force them upon Extremities.

Over and above all this; one of the best Buffendorf, Historians of the Age, who had the Advantage of all the late Elector of Brandenburg's

Papers and Memoirs, acquaints us, That King Charles II. delivering to King James at his Death, the Key of his strong Box, advis'd him not to think upon introducing the Romish Religion into England, it being a thing that was both dangerous and impracticable. And that the late Don Pedro Ronquillo, the Spanish Ambassador, at his first Audience after the Death of King Charles, having ask'd leave to speak his Mind freely upon that Occasion, made bold to tell him, That he saw several Priests about him, that he knew would importune him to alter the establish'd Religion in England; but he wish'd his Majesty would not give ear to their Advice; for if he did, he was afraid his Majesty would have reason to repent of it when it was too late. This Author tells us, That King James took ill the Freedom of the Spanish Ambassador; and ask'd him in Passion, Whether in Spain they advis'd with their Confessors? Yes, Sir, (answer'd Ronquillo) we do, and that's the Reason our Affairs go so ill.

The same Historian does likewise inform us. (but he does not tell us upon what Grounds) That Pope Innocent XI. writ a Letter to King James upon his Accession to the Crown, to this Purpose; That he was highly pleas'd with his Majesty's Zeal for the Catholic Religion; but he was afraid his Majesty might push it too far, and instead of contributing to his own Greatness, and to the Advancement of the Catholic Church, he might come to do both it and himself the greatest Prejudice, by attempting that which his Holiness was well assur'd, from long Experience, could not succeed. This Letter does very well agree with what I shall have occasion to mention afterwards, concerning the Earl of Castlemain's Embassy to Rome.

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How far he profited by all these Advantages on the one hand, and Examples and Advices on the other, will appear in the sequel.

The first Speech he made as King, the Day his Brother died, gave Hopes of a happy Reign; and even those that had appear'd with the greatest Warmth against him before, were willing now to own themselves to have been mistaken, and were ready to express their Repentance for what was past. For he told them, *That since it had pleas'd Almighty God to place him in that Station, and that he was now to succeed to so good and gracious a King, as well as so very kind a Brother, he thought fit to declare to them, That he would endeavour to follow his example, and especially in that of his great Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People; and that tho' he had been reported to be a Man for Arbitrary Power, yet he was resolv'd to make it his Endeavour to preserve the Government of England both in Church and State as it was then establish'd by Law. That he knew the Principles of the Church of England were for Monarchy; and that the Members of it had shew'd themselves good and Loyal Subjects: therefore he would always take care of it, and defend and support it. That he knew that the Laws of England were sufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as he could wish: And that as he would never depart from the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, so he would never invade any Man's Property: concluding, That as he had often hitherto ventur'd his Life in defence of this Nation, so he was resolv'd to go as far as any Man in preserving it in all its just Rights and Liberties.*

If a Trajan or an Antoninus had been to lay down a Scheme of Government to make their People happy, they could not have done it in better Terms; nor could the Nation well desire, or in reason wish for more. If his subsequent Actions had come up to it, he had eterniz'd his Name, and might have reviv'd in himself the Memory of those of his Ancestors, who have deservedly given them, by Posterity, the Character of Good and Great.

This promising Speech was not many Days old, nor King *Charles's* Ashes well cold, when the Nation was alarm'd with a Proclamation for levying that part of the Customs that had been granted to his Brother only for Life, and was expir'd at his Death. This was not only an open Violation of his Promise in the foremention'd Speech, but of our fundamental Constitution, by which no Money can be levied on the Subject, but by their Consent in Parliament. As it was contrary to Law, so it was altogether needless at that Time, since a Parliament was to meet within a few Days, which no body doubted would in a Parliamentary Way continue the same Customs for his Life, as they had been for his Brother's.

He was not the first Prince that did illegally seize what he had no Right to: But few Instances can be given of a King that did openly violate the Constitution of his Country, to obtain that, which he was certain would be granted him in a Legal Manner, and with the Good-Will of his People.

Notwithstanding this unusual stretch of Power upon his entering into the Administration, yet the Parliament he had call'd sat down in a good Humour, and with a hearty Inclination to do every Thing in Compliance with him, that might tend to his Honour or Safety. His Speech to both Houses was much of the same strain with his former to the Council upon his Brother's Death, but more full. *He demanded the settling of his Revenue during Life, as it was in his Brother's Time; and acquainted them with the Earl of Argyle's Landing in Scotland; and threaten'd to reward his Treason as it deserv'd.*

This Speech buoy'd up the Minds of the People, that had been sufficiently stunn'd before with the unprecedented Proclamation for levying the Customs: And so earnest was the Parliament to give the King no just occasion of Displeasure, and so great a Confidence did they place in a Royal Promise from the Throne, that they immediately

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ately complied with him in the Matter of the Revenue, thank'd him for his Speech. and Resolv'd by an unanimous Vote, *To assist him with their Lives and Fortunes against the Earl of Argyle, and all other his Enemies whatsoever.*

Some few Days after, the Bill for settling his Revenue, was presented to him for his Assent; upon which Occasion he made them another memorable Speech: He thank'd them for the Bill; told them of *want of Stores in the Navy and Ordnance; of the Anticipations that were upon several Branches of the Revenue; of the Debts due to his Brother's Servants and Family, which he said were such as deserv'd Compassion; and of the extraordinary Charges he must be at, in suppressing the Rebellion in Scotland:* Upon all which Accounts he demanded an extraordinary Supply; and sum'd up all, with recommending to them the Care of the Navy, which he was pleas'd to call *the Strength and Glory of the Nation.* And in the end told them, *He could not express his Concern upon that Occasion more suitable to his own Thoughts of it, than by assuring them, He had a true English Heart, as jealous of the Honour of the Nation, as theirs could be: And that he pleas'd himself with the Hopes, That by God's Blessing and the Parliament's assistance, he might carry the Reputation of it higher in the World, than ever it had been in the Time of his Ancestors.*

Appendix,
Numb. 12.
His Speech to the Parliament.

It was no wonder that a Speech of this strain, so becoming an *English* Monarch, did meet with a kind Reception from an *English* Parliament, and be answer'd, as it was, with a large Supply; since a neighbouring Court was thereupon at a stand what to think of a Prince they had reckon'd upon as their own, and of whose real Friendship this unexpected Speech gave them ground to doubt. They well knew, that a true *English* Heart was diametrically opposite to their Designs; and that a King jealous

of the Honour of the *English* Nation, must needs be an Enemy to all Encroachments of any neighbouring State. To plunge that Court yet the more into a maze of Thoughts about King *James* upon this Occasion, the carrying the Reputation of England yet higher in the World than ever it had been in the Time of any of his Ancestors, were Words that Seem'd to promise no less than the imitating, or rather out-doing of an *Edward III.* or a *Henry V.* that had rais'd to themselves immortal Trophies, at the Expence of their Neighbours, and wrote their own Panegyricks with their Enemies Blood.

How this Speech was relish'd abroad, cannot be better express'd, than in two Letters writ at that Time by a certain Great Minister, to an Ambassador here; which being communicated to me by a Noble Person, into whose Hands many of that Ambassador's Papers happen'd to fall upon the late Revolution, they are plac'd at length in the Appendix in *English*.

In the first of these Letters, That Minister discovers a sort of Diffidence in King Numb. 13. *James*, as if he were not the Man they had taken him for; expresses his Fears, that a Cordial Agreement between him and the Parliament, might unhinge all the Measures had been so long a concerting betwixt him and his Master, when King *James* was but Duke of York. He recommends to the Ambassador, to enquire narrowly into the Motives, and the Authors of this Speech to the Parliament, as the most considerable Service that could be done in that Juncture.

The other Letter chides the Ambassador, for not being yet able to sound King *James's* Intentions; and tells him, They had receiv'd from a sure Hand better News than what it appears the Ambassador had writ. And which is most remarkable in the whole Letter, there is in it a plain Insinuation, That there was in that Court some great Matter under Consideration, concerning the Edict of Nantes, which

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which was not to be declar'd until King James's Intentions were fully known. And concludes with a Command to the Ambassador, to sift out how King James stood affect- ed to the Prince of Orange.

What Discoveries were made in obedience to these Let- ters, can be no otherwise guess'd at but by the Event; for at this very Time the unfortunate Duke of *Monmouth*, by a desperate, ill-tim'd Attempt to overturn King James's Throne, did all that in him lay to fix it the faster.

King *Charles*, as I have said, lov'd *Monmouth* tenderly; and all the Disgraces and hardships that had of late Years been put upon him, were rather the Effects of Fear and Policy, than Inclination or Choice. He was fond of him to that Degree, that tho' he was the greatest Master in the Art of Dissimulation, yet he could not refrain some- times in company where he might be free, from regret- ting his own hard Fortune; which necessitated him to frown upon a Son, whose greatest Crime was to have in- curr'd his Brother's Displeasure.

His Fondness was yet more express'd in his Behaviour to the Duke of *Monmouth*, upon the Discovery of that which was call'd the Protestant Plot, and in the Manner he brought him back to Court, after the Ferment was a little abated. All the Time *Munmouth* was absconding, and when there was a Proclamation out for apprehending him, King *Charles* not only knew where he was, and sent him Messages every Day, but saw him several Times in private. When the Duke's Anger was a little appeas'd by the Sacrifices that were offer'd up to it, King *Charles* thought it was then Time to have his Son once again a- bout him. In order to which, he so manag'd the Matter, that *Munmouth* should owe the Favour to the Duke of *York*, and that his Pardon should be granted merely at the Duke's Intercession.

The Night he appear'd first at Court upon his Recon- ciliation,

ciliation, King *Charles* was so little Master of himself, that he could not dissemble a mighty Joy in his countenance, and in every Thing he did or said: insomuch, that it was the publick Talk about Town, and strongly insinuated to the Duke of *York*, That all the King's former Proceedings against the Duke of *Munmouth*, were but Grimace, and that his Royal Highness being made the Instrument of the Reconciliation, was all but a Trick put upon him. This so far incens'd the Duke, that he never rested till King *Charles* was prevail'd with to demand of *Munmouth* the Publication of a Paper which he had sign'd under Trust, and with an Assurance given him that it should never be made Publick; which the Party about the Duke knew *Munmouth* would not consent to, as being against his Honour. They were not mistaken; for *Munmouth* refus'd it; and upon his Refusal was disgrac'd once again.

King *Charles*'s Kindness ended not here, but attended him to *Holland*, whither he was oblig'd to retire. He found secret Means to furnish him with Money, and sent him Messages from Time to Time, and sometimes writ to him with his own Hand. He could not bear any hard Thing to be said of him in his Absence; and some officious Courtiers found to their Cost, that it was not the Way to make their Fortune, to aggravate *Munmouth*'s Crimes: Nor did the King take any Thing more kindly, than the noble Reception *Munmouth* receiv'd from a Prince of his Blood in a foreign Country, when he was forc'd to abandon his own.

King *Charles*, tir'd out at last with the uncontroll'd Hardships that were every Day put upon him by the Duke's Creatures, and asham'd to see his own Lustre obscur'd, and his Power lessen'd by a Party that had rais'd themselves upon *Munmouth*'s Ruin, he resolv'd to shift the Scene; and in order to *make himself easy for the rest of his Life*, as he express'd it, he determin'd to send away the Duke of *York*, and recall the Duke of *Munmouth*.

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April was the Time agreed on to put this Resolution in Practice; but there is little left us, by which we can judge whether *Munmouth* was to be recall'd to Court by a formal Invitation of the King's, or whether King *Charles*'s usual Thread of Dissimulation was to be spun out to that length, that *Munmouth* was to land with an Arm'd Force. The first seems more probable, if it were but for what he has writ himself in the Pocket-Book, which there will be Occasion to mention hereafter. 'Tis true, the last looks more of a piece with the rest of his Behaviour towards his Brother and Son, and more agreeable to his natural Biass, which seldom inclin'd him to chuse the *High Road*, when there could possibly be found a *By-path* to tread in.

But Death put a sudden stop to all King *Charles*'s Designs and *Munmouth*'s Hopes; and at the same Time warded off a Blow that threaten'd the Duke of *York* so near. And *Munmouth* being just ready to rise higher than ever, was left by all his good Stars, which set with that *Royal Sun* that gave them birth and Heat.

I would not be mistaken here, as if I were of Opinion that in this New *Turn* that was upon the Anvil, immediately before the Death of King *Charles*, there was any Design of altering the *Succeſſion*, or bringing *Munmouth* within the View of a *Crown*; the whole Course of King *Charles*'s Actions does sufficiently contradict any such thought: and though *Munmouth* was afterwards prevail'd with by a head-strong Party about him, to assume the Title of King, yet 'tis next to a certainty, that all that was originally aim'd at by King *Charles* and the Duke of *Munmouth*, was only to weaken the Duke of *York*'s Faction, which was then become insupportable, by playing *Munmouth*'s Party against it; which was consistent with the only fix'd *Maxim* of Government in that Reign, *That when any one Party grew too strong, to throw in the Royal Weight into the lightest Scale.*

Munmouth was sufficiently stunn'd with this unexpected Change

Change in his Fortune, by the Death of King *Charles*: But his great Courage and vain Confidence in a popular Affection and Assistance, bore him up against all Difficulties, and prompted him on to attempt by Force of Arms, what was never design'd him by King *Charles*.

With three small Ships, and about an hundred and fifty Men, the Duke landed in the West of *England*, the Parliament sitting. A Romantick kind of Invasion, and scarce parallel'd in History: Yet with this handful of Men, and the Common People that join'd him without Arms, Provisions, Martial Discipline, Money, or any one place of Strength to retire to, in case of Accidents, did this brave unfortunate Man bid fair for a Crown: And if his ill Fate had not plac'd a Battalion of *Dumbarton's* Regiment in his Way, he had in all Probability surpriz'd the King's Army in their Camp, and perhaps at that single Blow decided the Fortune of *England* for once. Yet this Attempt may be said to have pav'd the Way for a nobler Change in the Throne, by leaving King *James* at Liberty through this Success to act without Controul, what at length tumbled him down.

Munmouth paid the Price of his Rebellion with his Blood: And King *James* in ordering him to be brought into his Presence under the Sentence of Death, was pleas'd to make one Exception against a General Rule observ'd inviolably among Kings, *Never to allow a Criminal under the Sentence of Death, the sight of his Prince's Face, without a Design to pardon him.*

There is nothing deliver'd concerning this Unfortunate Gentleman, but what I have unquestionable Grounds for, and which some Persons yet alive, of the first Quality, know to be true. But of the most Things above mention'd, there is an infallible Proof extant under *Munmouth's* own Hand, in a little *Pocket-Book* which was taken with him, and deliver'd to King *James*; which by an Accident, as needless to mention here, I had leave to copy, and did

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it in part. A great many dark Passages there are in it, and some clear enough, that shall be eternally buried for me: And perhaps it had been for King *James's* Honour to have committed them to the Flames, as *Julius Caesar* is said to have done upon a like Occasion.

All the use that shall be made of it, is only to give, in the *Appendix*, some few Passages out of it, that refer to this Subject, and confirm what has been above related.

Appendix,
Numb. 14.

Munmouth seem'd to be born for a better Fate; for the first part of his Life was all Sunshine, though the rest was clouded. He was Brave, Generous, Affable, and Extremely Handsome: Constant in his Friendships, just to his Word, and an utter Enemy to all sort of Cruelty. He was easy in his Nature, and fond of popular Applause, which led him insensibly into all his Misfortunes: But whatever might be the hidden Designs of some *working Heads* he embark'd with, his own were noble, and chiefly aim'd at the Good of his Country, though he was mistaken in the Means to attain it. Ambitious he was, but not to the Degree of aspiring to the Crown, till after his landing in the *West*; and even then, he was rather Passive than Active in assuming the Title of King. It was Importunity alone that prevail'd with him to make that Step; and he was inflexible, till it was told him, That the only Way to provide against the Ruin of those that should come in to his Assistance, in case he fail'd in the Attempt, was to declare himself King; *that they might be shelter'd by the Statute made in the Reign of Henry VII. in Favour of those that should obey a King de Facto*, Those that advis'd him, had different Ends in it; Some to render the Breach betwixt King *James* and him irreconcilable, and thereby pave a Way for a Common-wealth, in playing them against one another. Others to prevent a possibility of his being reconcil'd to King *James*, by the merit of delivering up those that

Munmouth's
Character.

should join him; which was a Thought unworthy of that nice Sincerity he had shewn in all the former Conduct of his Life.

To confirm this, I remember to have heard *Rumbold* say openly at his Execution in *Scotland* upon the account of *Argyle's* Invasion, *That* *Munmouth* *had broke his Word with them, in declaring himself King.* And I have reason to know, that he was so far from a Design upon the Crown before he left *Holland*, that it was not without great Difficulty he was persuaded to come over at all: And that upon King *Charles's* Death he express'd a firm Resolution to make no such Attempt, but to live a retir'd Life, without giving King *James* any Disturbance.

In his latter Years he us'd to complain of the little care had been taken of his Education; and in his Disgrace endeavour'd to make up that Want, by applying himself to study, in which he made in a short Time no inconsiderable Progress. He took the Occasion of his Afflictions to inform his Mind, and recollect and amend the Errors of Youth; which it was not strange he should be tainted with, being bred up in all the Pleasures of a Luxurious Court. What sedate Thoughts his Retirement brought him to, and, which is in a great Part hitherto a Secret, how little Inclination he had to *make a bustle in the World*

(to give it in his own Words) is best express'd in a Letter of his own to one that afterwards lost his Life in his Quarrel: which though without a Date, appears to be writ after King *Charles's* Death, and is plac'd in the *Appendix*; which was deliver'd me by a Gentleman yet alive, that was intrusted with the Key of that and other Letters that were writ at that Time: Which

Appendix,
Numb. 15.
Mr. Spence
Secretary
to the late
Earl of
Argyle.

rather than discover, he chose to submit himself to be thrice cruelly tortur'd, all which he bore with a Courage worthy of the antient *Romans*.

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The Duke of *Munmouth*, when he was brought Prisoner into King *James's* Presence, made the humblest Submissions for his Life; and 'tis a Mystery what could move King *James* to see him, when he had no mind to pardon him: But the Manner of his Death three Days after, did more than acquit him of any meanness of Spirit in desiring to live, since he died with the greatest Constancy and Tranquillity of Mind, and such as became a *Christian*, a *Philosopher*, and a *Soldier*.

The *Storm* being thus blown over that threaten'd his Crown, King *James* thought it Time to cast off the Mask, and to act without disguise what till then he had in some part endeavour'd to dissemble. This Parliament had express'd a more than ordinary Zeal in *Attainting Munmouth*, and had readily granted him a competent Supply to suppress that Rebellion. Not only so, but to testify the Confidence they had in his Promises mention'd in the former Speeches, the House of Commons pass'd a Vote, *Nemine Contradicente*, That they did acquiesce, and entirely rely and rest wholly satisfied on his Majesty's Gracious Word, and repeated Declarations to support and defend the Religion of the Church of England as it is now by Law establish'd, which was dearer to them than their Lives. So that they had reason to expect some suitable Returns to all this Kindness and Confidence on their sides. But they were mistaken; for King *James* began to talk to them in a quite other Strain than he had done before: And in another Speech from the Throne, gave them to understand by a plain Insinuation, That he was now Master, and that for the future they must expect to be govern'd, not by the known Laws of the Land, but by his own sole Will and Pleasure.

No part of the *English* Constitution was in it self more sacred, or better secur'd by Law, than that by which *Roman Catholics* were declar'd incapable of Places of Trust, either Civil or Military, in the Government: And he himself,

when Duke of York, was forc'd by the *Test-Act* to lay down his Office of Lord High-Admiral, even at a Time when he had not publickly own'd his Reconciliation to the Church of *Rome*. But he did what lay in his Power to break down this Barrier, upon *Munmouth's* Defeat: And in a Speech to his Parliament told them, *That after the Storm that seem'd to be coming when he parted with them last, he was glad to meet them again in so great Peace and Quietness. But when he reflected what an inconsiderable number of Men began the late Rebellion, and how long they carried it on without any Opposition; he hop'd every body was convinc'd that the Militia was not sufficient for such Occasions; and that nothing but a good Force of disciplin'd Troops was sufficient to defend us from Insults at home and abroad: And therefore he had increas'd the Number of Standing Forces to what they were: And demanded*

*K. James's
Speech to
the Parlia-
ment after
Munmouth's
Defeat.*

*Appendix,
Numb. 16.*

a Supply to support the Charge of them, which he did not doubt they would comply with. Then, as the main End of his Speech, and to let them know what he was positively resolv'd to do; he adds, Let no Man take Exception that there are some Officers in the Army not qualified according to the late Test for that Employment: The Gentlemen, I must tell you, are most of them well known to me; and having formerly serv'd me on several Occasions, and always approv'd the Loyalty of their Principles by their Practices. I think them now fit to be employ'd under me; and will deal plainly with you, That after having had the benefit of their Services in such Time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to Disgrace, nor my self to the Want of them, if there should be another Rebellion to make them necessary to me. And at last he tells them, That he was afraid some may hope that a Difference might happen betwixt him and his Parliament on that Occasion; which he cannot apprehend can befall him, or that any thing can

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shake them in their Loyalty to him, who will ever make all Returns of Kindness and Protection, and venture his Life in the Defence of the true Interest of the Nation.

It was no wonder, That this Speech surpriz'd a People who valued themselves so much upon their Liberties, and thought themselves secure of them, both from the Constitution of their Government, and the solemn repeated Promises of their Prince. They found too late, that their Fears in the former Reign, of a Popish Successor, were too well grounded, and how inconsistent a Roman Catholick King is with a Protestant Kingdom. The Parliament did in humble Manner represent the Inconvenience that might attend such Measures, at least to render him inexcusable for what might ensue. And that they might not be wanting to themselves and their Posterity, they voted an Address,

The Parliament's Address to K. James upon that Speech.

wherein they told him, " That they had with all Duty
" and Readiness taken into Consideration his Majesty's
" Gracious Speech. And as to that Part of it relating to
" the Officers of the Army not qualified for their Employment according to the Act of Parliament, they did out
" of their bounden Duty humbly represent to his Majesty, that these Officers could not by Law be capable
" of their Employments; and that the Incapacities they
" bring upon themselves that Way, could no Ways be
" taken off, but by an Act of Parliament: Therefore out
" of that great Reverence and Duty they ow'd to his
" Majesty, they were preparing a Bill to indemnify them
" from the Inconveniences they had now incurr'd. And
" because the continuing them in their Employments
" may be taken to be a dispensing with Law without an Act
" of Parliament, the Consequence of which was of the
" greatest Concern to the Rights of all his Subjects, and
" to all the Laws made for the Security of their Religion;
" therefore they most humbly beseech his Majesty, that
he

" he would be graciously pleas'd to give such Directions therein, that no Apprehensions or Jealousies might remain in the Hearts of his Subjects."

Over and above what was contain'd in this Address the House of Commons were willing to capacitate by an Act of Parliament, such a number of the Roman Catholick Officers, as King *James* should give a List of. But both this Offer and the Address were highly resented; and notwithstanding that they were preparing a Bill for a considerable Supply to answer his extraordinary Occasions, and had sent to the *Tower* one of their Members for speaking indecently of his Speech, King *James* was influenc'd to part with this his first and only Parliament in displeasure, upon the fourth Day after they presented the Address.

As his former Speeches to his Council and Parliament had put a foreign Court to a stand what to think of him; so this last put them out of pain, and convinc'd them he was entirely theirs. Their Sense of it can hardly be better express'd than in a Letter from abroad,

Appendix, contain'd in the *Appendix*; which by its *Numb. 17.* Stile, though in another Hand, seems to be from the same Minister that writ the two former: In which he tells the Ambassador here, *That he needed not a surer Character of King James and his Intentions than this last Speech to the Parliament, by which they were convinc'd of his former Resolution to throw off the Fetters which Hereticks would impose upon him, and to set for the Time to come en Maître, as Master: A word till then altogether foreign to the English Constitution.*

What other Effects this Speech had upon the Minds of the People at home and abroad, may be easily guess'd from the different Interests they had in it: Nor is it to be past over without some Remark, That the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, which probably had been some Time under Consideration before, was now put in Execution, to the astonishment of all Europe.

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The Parliament being dissolv'd, and no visible Means left to retrieve the Liberties of *England*, King *James* made haile to accomplish the Grand Design, which a head-strong Party about him push'd on as the certain Way in their Opinion to eternize his Name in this World, and to merit an Eternal Crown in the other. They foresaw that this was the Critical Juncture, and the only one that happen'd since the Days of Queen *Mary*, to restore their Religion in *England*. And if they were wanting to themselves in making use of it, the prospect of a Protestant Successor would infallibly prevent their having any such Opportunity for the future. King *James* was pretty far advanc'd in Years, and what was to be done, requir'd Expedition; for all their Labour would be lost, if he should die before the accomplishment. If he had been younger, or the next Presumptive Heir had not been a Protestant, there had been no such absolute necessity for Dispatch: But the Uncertainty of the King's Life call'd for more than ordinary Diligence in a Design that depended merely upon it.

The Party being resolv'd, for these Reasons, to bring about in the Compass of one single Life, and that already far spent, what seem'd to be the Work of a whole Age, they made large Steps towards it. Roman Catholicks were not only employ'd in the Army, but brought into Places of greatest Trust in the State. The Earl of *Clarendon* was forthwith remov'd from the Office of Privy-Seal; and the Government of *Ireland*; to make room for the Earl of *Tyrconnel* in the one, and the Lord *Arundel* in the other. Father *Peters*, a *Pope's* Nuncio in *England*. And tho' by the Laws it was high Treason for any to assume the Character of the *Pope's* Nuncio, yet these were become too slender Cobwebs to hinder a Roman Prelate to appear publickly at *London* in that Quality; and one of the greatest Peers of *England* was disgrac'd for not pay-

Duke of Somerset.

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ing him that Respect which the Laws of the Land made criminal.

To bear the Publick Character of *An Ambassador* Ambassador to the Pope, was likewise *sent to Rome.* an open Violation of the Laws. But so fond was the governing Party about King *James*, to shew their new-acquir'd Trophies at *Rome*, that the Earl of *Castlemain* was dispatch'd thither Extraordinary Ambassador, with a magnificent Train, and a most sumptuous Equipage. What his secret Instructions were, may be partly guess'd by his publick ones; which were, To reconcile the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, to the Holy See; from which they had for more than an Age fallen off by Heresy.

Innocent XI. receiv'd this Embassy as one *And slighted* that saw farther than those who sent it. *by the Pope.* The Ambassador had but a cold Reception

of the Holy Father, and none of the Cardinals, but those of a particular Faction, and the good-natur'd Cardinal of *Norfolk*, took any farther notice of it, than Good Manners oblig'd them. The Court of *Rome* were too refin'd Politicians, to be impos'd upon with Shew and noise, and knew the World too well, to expect great Matters from such hasty ill-tim'd Advances as were made to them. Not only so, but *Innocent* having an Aversion in his Nature to a Faction he knew King *James* was embark'd in, which he never took Pains to dissemble, was not over-sond of an Embassy from a Prince who was in an Interest he had long wish'd to see humbled. King *James* met with nothing but Mortifications at *Rome* in the Person of his Ambassador, which occasion'd his making as short a stay as was possible. In which may be seen the vast Difference there was at that Time betwixt the Politicks of *Italy*, and those of a head-strong Party in *England*. And however the World has been impos'd upon to believe, that the Pope's *Cardinal Dada.* Nuncio at the *English* Court, who is

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since made a Cardinal, was an Instrument to push on Things to Extremities; yet certain it is, he had too much good Sense to approve of all the Measures that were taken; and therefore desir'd often to be recall'd, least he should be thought to have a hand in them.

Altho' the Earl of Castlemain was pleas'd, upon his Examination before the Parliament, to say, *That his Embassy to Rome was only such as is between two Temporal Princes, about Compliment and Commerce*; yet Father Warner, in his *Manuscript History*, quoted by a Learned Author, gives us another Account of it in these Words: *Things being thus settled (says he) within the Realm, the next Care his Majesty had, was, to unite his Countries to the Obedience of the Bishop of Rome, and the Apostolick See, which had been cut off by Heresy about an Age and a half before. To try the Pope's Inclination, in the Year 1685, he sent Mr. Carryl thither: who succeeding according to his Wishes, and being recall'd, the Earl of Castlemain was sent the next Year, as Extraordinary Ambassador to the Pope, in the Name of the King and the Catholics of England, to make their Submission to the Holy See.*

Castlemain had several Audiences of the Pope, but to little Purpose; for whenever he began to talk of Business the Pope was seasonably attack'd with a Fit of Coughing which broke off the Ambassador's Discourse for that Time, and oblig'd him to retire. These Audiences and Fits of Coughing continu'd from Time to Time, whilst Castlemain continu'd at Rome, and were the Subject of Diversion to all but a particular Faction at that Court. At length he was advis'd to come to Threats, and to give out, that he would be gone, since he could not have an Opportunity to treat with the Pope about the Business he

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Dr. Gee's Animadversions on the Jesuits Memorial for the intended Reformation of England, under the first Popish Prince: London, 1690.

came for. *Innocent* was so little concern'd for the Ambassador's Resentment, that when they told him of it, he answer'd with his ordinary Coldness, *E ben^{al} se vuol andersene ditegli adonque che si lovi di buon matino al fresco e che a mezzo giorno si repositi, per chi in questi paesi non bisogna viaggiare al caldo del giorno.* Well! let him go, and tell him, it were fit he rise early in the Morning, that he may rest himself at Noon; for in this Country 'tis dangerous to travel in the Heat of the Day.

In the end he was recall'd, being able to obtain of the Pope two trifling Requests only, that could hardly be deny'd to an ordinary Courier. The *Mercure Historique* pour one was, a Licence for the *Mareschal d'Humier's* Daughter to marry her Uncle: And the other, a Dispensation of the Statutes of the *Jesuits Order*, to *Father Peters*, to enjoy a *Bishoprick*. The want of which, says my Author, was the Reason that the *Arch-bishoprick* of *York* was kept so long vacant.

Tho' the Pope carry'd himself in this Manner towards the *English Ambassador*, yet the *Jesuits* pay'd him the highest Respect imaginable: which did him no Service with the old Man; for he and that Order were never hearty Friends. They entertain'd him in their Seminary with the greatest Magnificence; and nothing was wanting in Nature or Art to grace his Reception.

All their Stores of Sculpture, Painting, Poetry and Rhetorick, seem to have been exhausted upon this Entertainment. And tho' all the Inscriptions and Emblems did center upon the Triumph of the *Romish Religion*, and the Ruin of *Heresy* in *England*, yet Care was taken not to omit such particular Trophies and Devices, as were adapted to their new-acquir'd Liberty of setting up their publick Schools at *London*. Among a great many other

M E M O I R S, & . 115

other Panegyricks upon King *James*, the following Distich was plac'd below an Emblem of England.

*Restituit veterem tibi Relligionis Honorem,
Anglia, Magnanimi Regis aperta fides.*

The open Zeal of this magnanimous King, has restor'd to England its antient Religion.

There was also this *Inscription* put round King *James's* Picture:

*Potentissimo & Religiosissimo
Magne Britanniae
R E G I*

J A C O B O II

*Generosa
Catholicae Fidei Confessione
Regnum Auspici;*
E T

I N N O C E N T I O XI. P. M.

*Per Legatum,
Nobilissimum & Sapientissimum
D. Rogerium Palmerium
Comitem de Castlemain
Obsequium deferenti,
Collegium Romanum
Regit Virtutum Insignia dedicat.*

To the most Potent and most Religious JAMES II. King of Great Britain, beginning his Reign with the generous Confession of the Catholick Faith,

A N D

Paying his Obedience to Pope

I N N O C E N T XI.

By the most Noble and most Wise

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Roger

Roger Palmer, *Earl of Castlemain,*
The Roman College

Dedicates

These Royal Emblems of his Virtues.

In the great Hall the Ambassador was harangu'd by the Rector of the College in a *Latin* Speech; which, to shew the vain Hopes they had of King *James* and their own Fortune at that Time, is plac'd

Appendix, Numb. 18.
 Nouveau Voyage de
 Italie, Edit. 3. Tom.
 2. Par Monsieur
 Miffon.

in the *Appendix*, with a Translation of it into *English*; referring the Reader for the rest of that Solemnity, to an ingenious Gentleman that was then upon the Place, and has given a particular Account

of it.

But yet it may not be amiss to mention what the same Gentleman tells us, of a Device that related to King *James's* having a Son; which was, *A Lilly, from whose Leaves there distill'd some Drops of Water*; which, as the Naturalists say, becomes the Seed of new Lillies; and the Motto was, *Lachrymor in Prolem; I weep for Children*. Underneath was this Distich:

Pro Natis, Jacobe, gemis, Flos candidæ Regum?
Hos Natura tibi si neget, Astra dabunt.

Do'st thou sigh for Children, O James! thou best of Kings!
If Nature denies, Heaven will grant them.

There was one Inscription more this Author takes notice of, which being one of the most unaccountable Things of that kind, afforded Matter for the Wits of *Rome* to descant upon. Tho' the Words are ill chose, and strangely harsh, yet 'tis certain the Fathers had a good Meaning in them; and they refer to King *James's* Influence

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M E M O I R S, &c. 117

fluence upon his Brother to turn Roman Catholick at his Death. The Inscription runs thus :

*Jacobo Secundo Angliæ Regi,
 Quod ipso Vitæ Exemplo præante,
 Et impellente Consiliis,
 Carolus Frater & Rex
 Mortem obierat admodum piam :
 Regnaturus a tergo frater
 Alas Carolo addidit ;
 E T
 Ut Cælo dignum
 E T
 Dignum se Rege Legatum, eligeret,
 Fratrem Misit.*

*To King James II. King of England, for having by his Example, and his Counsel, prevail'd with Charles his Brother to die a pious Death :
 And being to succeed him,
 He gave Wings to Charles, and that he might make choice of an Ambassador worthy of Heaven and himself, he sent his Brother.*

I will not pretend to give the nice Sense of these Words; and tho' I would, cannot, there being such a Perplexity in them. But for the Expressions that follow, I may venture to give them in *English*, tho' they seem to be as much out of the ordinary Road as the former.

*Nuncii ex Anglia Proceres
 Retulerunt Regibus aliis Jacobum Regnantem,
 Cælo
 Primus omnium retulit Carolus.
 Nec Immerito;
 Reges alii Legatos suscipiunt*

Mittuntque

*Mittuntque Principes,
Legatos Reges Deum excipere decuit;
Jacobum mittere.*

English Noblemen were sent to other Kings, to acquaint them with King James's Accession to the Crown; but Charles first of all brought the News of it to Heaven.

It was but reasonable

*For Kings to send and receive, Princes as Ambassadors;
But*

It became God Almighty to receive, and James to send no Ambassadors but Kings.

The Mortifications K. James met with at Rome about his Marriage with The Princess of Este.

To see King James neglected at Rome in the Pontificate of *Innocent XI.* was not so strange, considering what has been said of his Antipathy to a Faction wherein that Prince was concern'd: But that in the Time of *Innocent's* Predecessor, and when he was Duke of York, he should be deny'd a common Favour, which that Court seldom or never refuses to any one, was a Thing altogether unaccountable; yet so it was, that he having sent the late Earl of *Peterborough* to *Italy*, to espouse the Princess of *Modena* in his Name, all the Interest he could make, was not able to obtain a Dispensation for the Marriage. The Account of this Matter being so little known, and that Earl's Books wherein he mentions it, being so rare, and, as I am told, but twenty four Copies Printed; I shall give it in the Earl's

own Words:

" But now from *Rome* there was Advice (says he) by
" the Abbot of *Angeo*, of the great Difficulties that arose
" in the Consultations of this Affair, (meaning the Marriage.)

*Genealogies of
the Family of
Mordant, &c.
in a large Fol.
P. 427, 428.*

rage.) The *French* Ambassador, the Duke d' *Estrees*, favour'd the Marriage with all the Power of the *French* Faction; so did Cardinal *Barberini*, and all the other Friends and Allies of the House of *Esse*. But his Holiness himself was very averse, and Cardinal *Altieri*, who was the governing Nephew, a profess'd and violent Opposer. The main Pretence for this Obstinacy, was, the Duke of *York's* not declaring himself publickly of the Romish Church; tho' they knew that he was of a long Time reconcil'd to it.

" But now at last (continues the Earl of *Peterborough*) came from *Rome* the Abbot of *Angeo*, without the Dispensation, which he could by no Means obtain, by reason that Cardinal *Altieri* was inflexible, and Threats of Excommunication were issu'd out against any that should undertake to perform or celebrate the Marriage: whereupon we were all upon the Fears and Expectations of a total Rupture. The Dutcheß of *Modena* her self, a zealous, if not a Bigot Woman, was in great Pain about the Part that might seem offensive to his Holiness, or neglective of his Authority; and the young Princess took Occasion from hence to support her Unwillingness. But in Truth, Cardinal *Barberini*, upon whom the Dutcheß had great Dependance, and all the other Adherents and Relations of the House of *Esse*, being every Day more and more possess'd of the Honour and Interest they were like to find in this Alliance, were scandaliz'd at the unreasonable Obstinacy of the Pope and his Nephew, and did frankly advise the Dutcheß of *Modena* suddenly to make up and perfect the Marriage; the Peace and Excuse of the Thing being easier to be had after it was done, than any present Licence to be obtain'd for doing it.

" The Bishop of *Modena* was then apply'd to (adds the Earl) for the Performance; but he refusing, a poor *English* Jacobite was found, Brother to *Jerome White*,
" that

“ that after serv'd the Dutches, who having nothing to lose, and on whom the Terror of Excommunication did not so much prevail, did undertake it, and so he perform'd the Ceremony.” Thus far the Earl of *Peterborough*.

But to leave this Digression, and to return to our History. It was about this Time that the Romish Cabal about King *James* began to play their popular Engine, and which was likely to do most Execution, by weakening the national establish'd Church, and dividing

Protestants among themselves, when in the mean Time the Roman Catholicks were to be the only Gainers. This was disguis'd under the specious Names of Liberty of Conscience. And the very same Party that advis'd this Toleration, were they that had push'd on all the Severities against the Protestant Dissenters in the former Reign, with design to widen the Breach between them and the Church of *England*, and to render the first more willing to swallow the Bait of Toleration, whenever it should be offer'd to them. They gain'd in a great Part their End; for the Dissenters were not so fond of Persecution and ill Usage, as to refuse a Liberty that was frankly offer'd them, which neither their Prayers nor Tears could obtain before. Nor did they think it Good Manners to enquire too narrowly how that Liberty came about, as long as they were shelter'd thereby from the Oppressions they lay under.

The Church of *England* saw thro' all this Contrivance, and fear'd the Consequences. The Protestant Dissenters were more pitied now in their seeming Prosperity, than ever they had been in their real Adversity. Some that had been zealous before in putting the Penal Laws in execution against them, did now see their Error too late, and found they had been us'd but as Tools to prevent the Dissenters from uniting with the Church of *England*, whenever the common Danger should come to threaten both.

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This Toleration could not subsist, being contrary to the establish'd Laws of the Realm, unless a new Monster was introduc'd to give it Life, under the Name of a *Dispensing Power*. When King James came to assume to himself this *Power* as his Prerogative and Right, he unhing'd the *Constitution* all at once; for to dispense with Laws already made, is as much a part of the *Legislature*, as the making of new ones. And therefore in arrogating to himself such a dispensing Power, he invaded the very Essence of the *English Constitution*, by which the *Legislature is lodg'd in King, Lords and Commons*; and every one of them has a *Negative upon the other two*.

Charles II. was the first King of *England* that ever aim'd at any Thing like a *Dispensing Power*. In the Year 1662, he was prevail'd upon, for some Reasons of State, to issue out a Proclamation, dispensing with some few Things that related to the *Act of Uniformity*; but without the least regard to Roman Catholicks. And tho' in his Speech to the Parliament upon that occasion, he did in a Manner acknowledge that he had no such Power, in saying, *That if the Dissenters would demean themselves peaceably and modestly, he could heartily wish he had such a Power of Indulgence to use upon occasion*; yet the Parliament was so jealous of this Innovation, that they presented the King with an Address against the Proclamation; and plainly told him, *That he had no Power to dispense with the Laws without an Act of Parliament*.

King *Charles* made another Attempt of the like nature, in the Year 1672; and in a Speech to both Houses, did mention his Declaration of Indulgence, and acquainted them with the Reasons that induc'd him to it; telling them withal, how little the Roman Catholicks, would be the-better for it. Upon which, the House of Commons made an Address to him for recalling this Declaration;

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wherein they plainly told him, *That in claiming a Power to dispense with penal Laws, his Majesty had been very much misinform'd, since no such Power was ever claim'd or exercis'd by any of his Predecessors; and if it should be admitted might tend to the interrupting of the free Course of the Laws, and altering the Legislative Power, which has always been acknowledg'd to reside in his Majesty, and his two Houses of Parliament.* King Charles was so far satisfy'd in the Matter contain'd in this Address, that he immediately thereupon cancell'd his Declaration of Indulgence, and order'd the Seal to be torn off; and acquainted both Houses, that he had done so, with this further Declaration, which was enter'd upon Record in the House of Lords, *That it should never be drawn into Example or Consequence.*

The next that attempted such a dispensing Power, though of a far larger Extent, was King James, as has been said: And how any Thing that look'd that way was relish'd by the House of Commons, does appear by their Address against the Roman Catholick Officers; which also has been mention'd.

It was not enough for King James to assume this Dispensing Power, and to act by it; but such was the Misery and hard Fate of England, that the Party about the King would have had us believe, *That a Power in the King to dispense with Laws was Law.* To maintain this monstrous Position, there were not only mercenary Pens set a-work, but a Set of Judges found out, that, to their eternal Reproach, did all that was possible for them to compliment the King with the Liberties of their Country. For these Gentleman gave it for Law,

That the Kings of England are Sovereign Princes. That the Laws of England are the King's Laws. That therefore 'tis an incident inseparable Prerogative in the Kings of England, as in all other Sovereign Princes, to dispense with

with penal Laws in particular Cases, and upon particular necessary Reasons.

That of those Reasons, and those Necessities, the King himself is the sole Judge. And then, which is consequent upon all,

That this is not a Trust invested in, or granted to the King by the People, but is the ancient Remain of the Sovereign Power and Prerogative of the Kings of England, which never yet was taken from them, nor can be.

Thus were we fallen under the greatest Misfortune that could possibly happen to a Nation, to have our Laws and Constitutions trampled upon, under the colour of Law: And those very Men, whose Office it was to support them, became now the Betrayers of them to the Will of the Prince.

This mighty Point being gain'd, or rather forc'd upon us, the Roman Catholicks were not wanting to make the best use of it for themselves. The free and open Exercise of their Religion was set up every where, and Jesuit Schools and Seminaries erected in the most considerable Towns. The Church of England had now but a Precarious Title to the National Church, and Romish Candidates had swallow'd up its Preferments and Dignities already in their Hopes. Romish Bishops were publickly consecrated in the Royal Chappel, and dispatch'd down to exercise their Episcopal Function in their respective Dioceses. Their Pastoral Letters, directed to the Lay Catholicks of England, were openly dispers'd up and down, and printed by the King's own Printer, with publick License. The Regular Clergy appear'd in their Habits in *Whitehall* and *St. James's*, and made no Scruple to tell the Protestants, *They Hoped in a little Time to walk in Procession through Cheapside.*

A mighty Harvest of new Converts was expected; and that Labourers might not be wanting, Shoals of Priests

and Regulars were sent over from beyond Sea to reap it. The only step to Preferment, was, to be of the King's Religion; and to preach against the Errors of *Rome*, was the height of Disloyalty, because, forsooth, it tended to alienate the Subjects Affections from the King. An Order was directed to the Protestant Bishops about *Preaching*, which was, upon the Matter, forbidding them to defend their Religion in the Pulpit, when it was at the same Time attack'd by the Romish Priests, with all the Vigour they were capable of, both in their Sermons and Books. This Order was taken from a Precedent in Queen *Mary's* Time; for the first Step she made to introduce Popery, notwithstanding her Promises to the Gentlemen of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* to the contrary, upon their appearing first of any for her Interest, upon the Death of her Brother, was, to issue out a Proclamation, forbidding the preaching upon controverted Points of Religion; for fear, it was said, of raising Animosities among the People. But, notwithstanding this ensnaring Letter of King *James's*, the Clergy of the Church of *England* were not wanting in their Duty: For, to their immortal Honour, they did more to vindicate the Doctrine of their own Church, and expose the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, both in their Sermons and Writings, than ever had been done either at home or abroad, since the Reformation; and in such a Stile, and with such an inimitable Force of Reasoning, as will be a Standard of Writing to succeeding Ages.

To hasten on the Project against the *establisht Church*, a new Court of *Inquisition* was erected, under the Name of a *Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs*: And to blind the People, there were some Bishops of the Church of *England* nam'd *Commissioners*, whereof one refus'd to act from the beginning, and the other excus'd himself, after he came to see where the Design of it was levell'd. This Commission was another manifest Violation of the Laws, and against an express Act of Parliament: And as if that had

not

not been enough to mortify the Church of England, there were some Roman Catholicks appointed Commissioners; and consequently the Enemies of the Protestant Religion, were become the Judges and Directors of a Protestant Church in its Doctrine and Discipline.

These Commissioners thought fit to begin the Exercise of their new Power, with the Suspension of Dr. Compton, Bishop of London. This noble Prelate, by a Conduct worthy of his Birth and Station in the Church, had acquir'd the Love and Esteem of all the Protestant Churches at home and abroad, and was for that Reason the Mark of the Envy and Hatred of the Romish Party at Court. They had waited for an Occasion to ennoble their Ecclesiastical Commission with such an illustrious Sacrifice; and such an Occasion was rather taken than given, in the Business of Dr. Sharp now Archbishop of York.

The Suspension of the Bishop of London.

The Priests about the King, knowing how much it was their Interest that the Protestant Clergy should not have leave to refute the Errors of the Church of Rome in their Sermons, had advis'd him to send to the Bishops the ensnaring Letter or Order beforemention'd, containing *Directions about Preachers*. The learned Dr. Sharp, taking Occasion in some of his Sermons, to vindicate the Doctrine of the Church of England, in Opposition to Popery, this was in the *Court-Dialect*, understood to be the *endeavouring to get in the Minds of his Hearers, an ill Opinion of the King and his Government, by insinuating Fears and Jealousies, to dispose them to Discontent, and to lead them into Disobedience and Rebellion*; and consequently a Contempt of the said Order about Preachers. Whereupon King James sent a Letter to the Bishop of London, containing an Order to suspend Dr. Sharp from preaching in any Parish-Church or Chappel in his Diocese, until the Doctor had given Satisfaction.

The Occasion of it.

Satisfaction, and his Majesty's farther pleasure should be known.

The Bishop of London, perceiving what was aim'd at in this Letter, endeavour'd all that was possible to divert the Storm that threaten'd him, and the Church of England thro' his sides. He writ a submissive Letter to the Secretary of State, to be communicated to the King; setting forth, *That he thought it his Duty to obey his Majesty in whatever Commands he laid upon him, that he could perform with a safe Conscience; but in this he was oblig'd to proceed according to Law, and as a Judge; And by the Law, no Judge condemns a Man before he has Knowledge of the Cause, and has cited the Party. That however, he had acquainted Dr. Sharp with his Majesty's Displeasure, whom he found so ready to give all reasonable Satisfaction, that he had made him Bearer of that Letter.*

Together with this Letter from the Bishop of London, Dr. Sharp carry'd with him a Petition to the King in his own Name, shewing, *That ever since his Majesty was pleas'd to give Notice of his Displeasure against him, he had forborn the publick Exercise of his Function: And as he endeavour'd to do the best Service he could to his Majesty and his late Brother in his Station, so he had not vented now in the Pulpit any Thing tending to Faction or Schism. And therefore pray'd his Majesty would be pleas'd to lay aside his Displeasure conceiv'd against him, and restore him to that Favour which the rest of the Clergy enjoy'd.*

All this Submission was to no purpose. Nothing would satisfy the Party, but a Revenge upon the Bishop of London, for his exemplary Zeal for the Protestant Interest; and this Affair of Dr. Sharp's was made use of as a handle to mortify him, and in his Person the whole Body of the Clergy. The Bishop was cited before the Ecclesiastical Commission, for not suspending Dr. Sharp, according to the King's Order, and treated by their Chairmen, at his Appearance, in a Manner unworthy of his Station and Quality. All the Defence he could make, and his *Plea* to the

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the Jurisdiction and Legality of the Court, which was good beyond all Contradiction, did signify nothing. These new *Inquisitors* being resolv'd to stick at nothing that might please the *Party* that set them at work, did, by their definitive *Sentence, declare, decree, and pronounce, That the Bishop of London, should, for his Disobedience and Contempt, be suspended, during his Majesty's Pleasure: and accordingly was suspended, with a peremptory Admonition, To abstain from the Function and Execution of his Episcopal Office, and other Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, during the said Suspension, under the Pain of Deprivation and Removal from his Bishoprick.*

The next that felt the Weight of this *Ecclesiastical Commission*, were the President and Fellows of *St. Mary Magdalen's College in Oxford*. The two chief Seats of Learning, the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, stood in the Way of the grand Design; and the *Party* was impatient to get footing there. *Magdalen College* is one of the Noblest Foundations that perhaps was ever erected to Learning in the World, and therefore it was no wonder it was one of the first Marks that was shot at. This illustrious Society, from repeated Grants of Kings, ratify'd in Parliament, and from their own Statutes, was in an uninterrupted Possession of a Right to elect their own President. That Place being vacant by the Death of *Dr. Clark*, a Day was appointed by the Vice-President and Fellows, to proceed to the Election of another to fill up the Vacancy: But before the Day of Election came, *Charnock*, one of the Fellows, (who was since executed for the late Plot to assassinate his present Majesty) brought them a Mandate from King *James*, to elect one *Farmer* into the Place; a Man of an ill Reputation, who had promis'd to declare himself a Roman Catholick, and was altogether incapable of the Office by the Statutes of the College.

lege. This Mandate, the Vice-President and Fellows receiv'd with all decent Respect; and sent their humble Address to the King, representing to his Majesty, *That Farmer was a Person in several Respects incapable of that Office, according to their Founders Statutes; and therefore did earnestly beseech his Majesty, either to leave them to the Discharge of their Duty and Consciences, according to his Majesty's late gracious Declaration, and their Founder's Statutes; or else to recommend to them such a Person, who might be more serviceable to his Majesty and the College.*

Notwithstanding this humble and submissive Address, King James signify'd his Pleasure to them, *That he expected to be obey'd.* Upon which, the Fellows being oblig'd by the Statutes of their Society, to which they were sworn, not to delay the Election longer than such a Day, and Farmer being a Person they could not chuse, without incurring the Sin of Perjury; they proceeded to Election, and chose Dr. Hough (now Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry) their President.

Hereupon the new President and Fellows were cited before the Ecclesiastical Commission, for disobeying the King's Mandate. And notwithstanding they made it appear by their Answer, plac'd at length in the Appendix, *That they could not comply with that Mandate, without Breach of their Oaths; and that there was no room left for the King to dispense with that Oath, because in the Oath itself they were sworn not to make use of any such Dispensation, nor in any sort consent thereto.* Yet against all Law, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners did by their Sentence deprive Dr. Hough of his Presidentship, and suspended two of the Fellows from Fellowships; while the King, at the same Time, inhibited the College to elect or admit any Person whatsoever into any Fellowship, or any other Place or Office in the said College, till his farther Pleasure.

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The Court finding by this Time, that *Farmer* was one of so profligate a Life, that though he had promis'd to declare himself a Roman Catholick upon his Promotion to that Place, they began to be asham'd of him; and therefore, instead of insisting on the former *Mandamus* in his favour, there was another granted in favour of Dr. *Parker* then Bishop of *Oxford*, one of the Creatures of the Court, and who they knew would stick at nothing to serve a turn.

The Place of President being already in a legal Manner fill'd up by the Election of Dr. *Hough*; which, tho' it had not been, yet the Bishop of *Oxford* was likewise incapable, by the Statutes of the College, of being elected: the Fellows did humbly offer a very pathetick Petition to his Majesty, mentiond at length in the *Appendix*, in which they set forth, how *inexpressible an Affliction it was to them, to find themselves reduc'd to such an Extremity, that either they must disobey his Majesty's Commands, contrary to their Inclinations, and that constant Course of Loyalty which they had ever shew'd hitherto upon all Occasions, or else break their Founder's Statutes, and deliberately perjure themselves.* Then they mention'd the Statutes and Oaths that every one of them had taken at their Admission into their Fellowships; and concluded with an humble Prayer to his Majesty, to give them leave to lay their Case and themselves at his Majesty's Royal Feet, earnestly beseeching his sacred Majesty to extend to them, his humble Petitioners, that Grace and Tendernefs which he had vouchsaf'd to all his other Subjects.

All this Submission was in vain; for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, by their final Decree and Sentence, depriv'd and expell'd from their Fellowships all the Fellows of *Magdalen-College*, but three that had comply'd with breach of Oath, being twenty five in Number. And to push their Injustice yet farther, they did, by another Sentence, decree

and declare, *That Dr. Hough, who had been depriv'd before, and the said twenty five Fellows, should be incapable of receiving, or being admitted into any Ecclesiastical Dignity, Benefice, or Promotion. And such of them who were not yet in holy Orders, they adjudg'd incapable of receiving, or being admitted into the same.* Thus, by a Decree of an illegal Court, were a Set of worthy and learned Men turn'd out of their Frecholds, merely for not obeying an arbitrary Command, which was directly against their Consciences. And thus was King *James* prevail'd with by a head-strong Party, to assume a Power not only to dispense with Laws, but to make void Oaths.

The first Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, was not thought a sufficient stretch of Power: and therefore King *James* issued out another of a much higher Strain, in which the *Roman Catholicks* were chiefly included, and indeed it was for their sake alone it was granted. To render the Church of England accessory to their own ruin, there was an Order of Council made upon the latter, *Commanding it to be read at the usual Times of Divine Service, in all Churches and Chappels throughout the Kingdom, and ordering the Bishops to cause it to be sent and distributed throughout their several and respective Dioceses, to be read accordingly.*

The Clergy of the Church of England had reason to take it for the greatest Hardship and Oppression that could be put upon them, to be commanded to read from their Pulpits a Declaration they knew to be against Law, and which in its Nature and Design was levell'd against their own Interest, and that of their Religion. Some of them, thro' Fear or mistake, and others to make their Court, comply'd; but the Generality refus'd to obey so unjust a command. The Romish Party had their Ends in it, for their Refusal laid them open to the severe Lashes of the Eccle-

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fiastical Commission; and accordingly, every one that had not read the Declaration in their Churches, were order'd to be prosecuted before that inexorable Tribunal, where they were infallibly to expect to be depriv'd. And so most of the Benefices in *England* must have been made vacant for a new Kind of Incumbents.

But the Scene chang'd before all this could be brought about: For King *James*, urg'd on by his Fate, and by a restless Party about him, came at this Time to level a Blow against the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and six of his Suffragan Bishops, that awaken'd the People of *England* to shake off their Chains, and implore Assistance to retrieve the dying Liberties of their Country.

These seven Bishops being sensible, as most of the Nation was, of what was originally aim'd at in these two Declarations for Liberty of Conscience, did consult together about the humblest Manner to lay before King *James* the Reasons why they could not comply with the Order of Council. Having got leave to attend him, they deliver'd to him, with the greatest Submission, a Petition in behalf of themselves and their absent Brethren, and in the Name of the Clergy of their respective Dioceses, humbly representing, *That their Unwillingness did not proceed from any want of Duty and Obedience to his Majesty, nor from any want of due Tenderneſs to Dissenters; in relation to whom, they were willing to come to such a Temper, as should be thought fit, when that Matter should be consider'd in Parliament and Convocation: But, among a great many other Considerations, from this especially, because that Declaration was founded upon such a Dispensing Power, as had been often declar'd illegal in Parliament; and was a matter of ſo great Moment and Conſequence to the whole Nation, that they could not in Prudence, Honour, or Conſcience, ſo far make themſelves Partic to it as the Distribution of it all over the Kingdom, and the ſo-*

*The Affair
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solemn Publication of it even in God's House, and in the Time of his Divine Service, must amount to, in common and reasonable Construction. Therefore did humbly and earnestly beseech his Majesty, That he would be graciously pleas'd, not to insist upon their distributing and reading the said Declaration.

This Petition tho' the humblest that could be, and deliver'd by six of them to the King alone in his Closet, was so highly resent'd; that the six Bishops that presented it and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* that writ it, but was not present as its Delivery, were committed Prisoners to the *Tower*.

They were a few Days after brought to the *King's-Bench Bar*, and indicted of a high Misdemeanor, for having *falsely, unlawfully, maliciously, seditiously, and scandalously fram'd, compos'd, and writ a false, malicious, pernicious and seditious, Libel, concerning the King and his Royal Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, under the pretence of a Petition; and that they had publish'd the same in Presence of the King.* There was a great Appearance at this Tryal, and it was a leading Case; for upon it depended, in a great Measure, the Fate of the rest of the Clergy of the Church of *England*. It lasted long, and in the end the seven Bishops were acquitted, with the Acclamations of all but the Court-Party.

There were two Things very remarkable in this Tryal. The Dispensing Power was learnedly and boldly argu'd against by the Council for the Bishops, and demonstrated by invincible Arguments to be an open Violation of the Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom. So that, in one of the greatest Auditories that was ever seen in *Westminster-Hall*, and upon hearing one of the most solemn Causes that ever was try'd at the *King's-Bench Bar*, King *James* had the Mortification to see his *new assum'd Prerogative* baffled, and its Illegality expos'd to the World. The other Thing observable upon this Tryal, was, that the Tables were so far turn'd, that some that

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had largely contributed to the enslaving their Country with false Notions of Law, were now of another Opinion; while at the same Time, others, that stood up for the Liberty of their Country in two successive Parliaments, and had suffer'd upon that Account, did now as much endeavour to stretch the Prerogative beyond its just Limits, as they had oppos'd it before. *So hard it is for Mankind to be in all Times, and upon all Turns, constant to themselves.*

The News of the *Bishops* being acquitted, was receiv'd with the highest Expressions of Joy throughout the whole Kingdom, Nor could the King's own Presence prevent his Army that was then encamp'd at *Hounslow-Heath*, from mixing their loud Acclamations with the rest. This last Mortification might have prevented his Fate, if his Ears had been open to any but a hot Party, that were positively resolv'd to push for all, cost what it would: And it was easily seen by the Soldiers Behaviour upon this Occasion, *how impossible it is to debauch an English Army from their Love to their Country and their Religion.*

While the *Bishops* were in the Tower, the Roman Catholics had their Hopes crown'd with the Birth of a pretended Prince of Wales. The Fears of a Protestant Successor, had been the only Alloy that render'd their Prosperity less perfect. Now, the Happiness of having an Heir to the Crown, to be bred up in their own Religion, quash'd all those Fears, and aton'd for the Uncertainty of the King's Life. It was so much their Interest to have one, and there were so many Circumstances that seem'd to render his Birth suspicious, that the Nation in general were inclinable to believe, that this was the least Effort of the Party, to accomplish our Ruin.

All things seem'd now to conspire towards it. There was only a Parliament wanting, to ratify and approve all the illegal Steps that had been made; which was to be done effectually by taking off the pe-

The Birth of a pretended Prince of Wales.

A new Parliament design'd, and to what End.

nal Laws and Test. The two chief *Barriers* of our Religion. To obtain such a *Parliament*, no Stone was left unturn'd, and no Threats nor Promises neglected. *Regulators* were sent down to every *Corporation*, to model them to this End, tho' a great Part of their Work had been done to their hand; for in most of the new *Charters* there had been such *Regulations* made, and such Sort of Men put in, as was thought would make all sure.

But to be yet surer, and to try the Inclinations of People, *Closetting* came in fashion. *Closetting* in fashion. on, and King *James* was at Pains to sound every Man's Mind, how far he might depend upon him for his Concurrence with those Designs. If they did not readily promise to serve the King in his own Way, which was the *distinguishing Word* at that Time, there was some Brand put upon them, and they were turn'd out of Place, if they had any. Nor did King *James* think it below his Dignity, after the Priests had fail'd to bring in his new *Converts*, to try himself how far his own Arguments might prevail; and he closetted Men for that Purpose too. Some few of no *Principles*, and a great many others of desperate *Fortunes*, complimented him with their Religion, and were generally thereupon put into Employments: And so fond was the King of making *Profelytes* at any rate, that there were of the *Scum* of the People that pretended to turn Papists, merely for the sake of a weekly small *Allowance*, which was regularly paid them.

'Tis a Question, after all, whether the Parliament, which King *James* was thus labouring to model, would have answer'd his Expectation, had they come to sit: for Mens Eyes were open'd more and more every day; and the noble *Principles* of *English* Liberty began to kindle afresh in the Nation, notwithstanding all the Endeavours had been us'd of a long Time to extinguish them. Tho' the Dissenters, who might be chosen into Parliament upon this

this new Model, would probably have made Terms for themselves, to prevent their falling under any future Persecution; yet being as averse to Popery as any others whatsoever, it is not to be imagin'd, that they would, upon that Consideration, have unhing'd the *Constitution of England*, to enable the *Roman Catholics* to break in upon the establish'd national Church; which in the End, must have inevitably ruin'd both it and themselves.

But there fell out a little before this Time, an *Accident* that help'd mightily to buoy up the sinking Spirits of the Nation, and which was occasion'd by the forward Zeal of some about the King, contrary to their Intentions. While the Project was going on to take off the *Penal Laws* and *Test*, and the Protestants were in a maze what to expect; the good Genius of *England*, and King *James's* ill Fate, set him on to make a Tryal of the Inclinations of the *Prince* and *Princess of Orange* in that Matter. The *Prince* and *Princess* had look'd on with a silent Regret, upon all the unlucky Steps that were making in *England*, and were unwilling to publish their Opinion of them, since they knew it could not but be displeasing to King *James*. To know their *Highnesses* Mind in the Business of the *Penal Laws* and *Test*, was a Thing the most desir'd by the Protestants, but there was no possible Way to come to this Knowledge, if King *James* himself had not help'd them to it.

Mr. *Stuart*, since Sir *James Stuart*, had been pardon'd by King *James*, and receiv'd into Favour, after a long Banishment. He had been acquainted in *Holland* with the late *Pensionary Fagel*, and persuaded himself of a more than ordinary Friendship with that wise Minister. The King foresaw it was his Interest to find out, some one Way or other, the *Prince* and *Princess's* Thoughts of these Matters; which, if they agreed with

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The Prince and Princess of Orange's Opinion about the Penal Laws and Test, declared in Pensionary Fagel's Letter.

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his own, were to be made publick; if otherwise, were to be conceal'd. And Mr. *Stuart* took that Task upon himself. *Pensionary Fagel* was in a great Post in *Holland*, and in a near Intimacy with the *Prince*; one that was intirely trusted by him, and ever firm to his Interest. To know the *Pensionary's* Opinion, was thought to be the same with knowing the *Prince's*, since it was to be suppos'd that he would not venture to write of any Thing that concern'd *England*, especially such a nice Point as was then in question, without the *Prince's* Approbation at least, if not his positive Direction.

Upon these Considerations, and upon a Mistake that Mr. *Stuart* was in, about the Constitution of *Holland*, as if the *Roman Catholicks* were not there excluded from Employments and Places of Trust, he writ a Letter to *Pensionary Fagel*. 'Tis needless to give any Account of the Letter itself, since *Fagel's* Answer, with what has been already said, do give a sufficient Hint of the Design and Scope of it.

So averse were the *Prince* and *Princess* of *Orange* to meddle and so unwilling to allow *Pensionary Fagel* to return to this Letter an Answer, which they knew would not be pleasing, that Mr. *Stuart* writ, by the King's Direction, five or six more, before it was thought fit to answer them. But at length their *Highnesses* were in a Manner forc'd to it, by the Reports that were industriously spread abroad in *England*, by the Emissaries of the Court, as if the *Pensionary*, in an Answer to Mr. *Stuart*, had acquainted him, That the *Prince* and *Princess* agreed with the King in the Design of taking off the *Penal Laws* and *Test*. This was not all; for the Marquis *de Albeville*, the *English* Envoy at the *Hague*, was put upon writing over to several Persons, That the *Prince* of *Orange* had told him the very same Thing; which Letter of *Albeville's* was likewise made publick. Such Reports were enough to shake the Constancy

stancy of all those that design'd to stand firm to the Interests of the establish'd Church in the ensuing Parliament, and to make them give all up for lost.

The Prince and Princess of Orange, to do themselves Justice, and to disabuse a Nation they had so near an Interest in, directed Pensionary Fagel to write one Answer to all Mr. Stuart's Letters, to this Purpose: *That being desir'd by Mr. Stuart, to let him know the Prince and Princess of Orange's Thoughts concerning the Repeal of the Penal Laws, and more particularly concerning the Test, he told him, That he would write without Reserve, since Mr. Stuart had said in his Letters, that they were writ by the King's Knowledge and Allowance. That it was the Prince and Princess's Opinion, That no Christian ought to be persecuted for his Conscience, or be ill-us'd, because he differs from the publick and establish'd Religion: And therefore, that they can consent, That the Papists in England, Scotland and Ireland, be suffer'd to continue in their Religion, with as much Liberty as is allow'd them by the States of Holland; in which it cannot be deny'd but they enjoy a full Liberty of Conscience. And as to the Dissenters, their Highnesses did not only consent, but did heartily approve of their having an entire Liberty for the full Exercise of their Religion; and that their Highnesses were ready to concur to the settling and confirming of this Liberty, and protect and defend it, and likewise confirm it with their Guaranty, which Mr. Stuart had mention'd.*

And if his Majesty (continues the Pensionary) desires their Concurrence in repealing the Penal Laws, their Highnesses were ready to give it, Provided those Laws remain still in their full Force, by which the Roman Catholicks are shut out of both Houses of Parliament, and out of all publick Employments, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military; as likewise those other Laws which confirm the Protestant Religion, and which secure it against all the Attempts of the Roman Catholicks. But their Highnesses cannot agree to the Repeal

of the Test, and those other penal Laws last mention'd, that tend to the Security of the Protestant Religion, since the Roman Catholicks receive no other Prejudices from these, than the being excluded from Parliament, and publick Employments.

More than this (adds Pensionary Fagel) their Highnesses do think ought not to be ask'd or expected; and they wonder'd how any that profess'd themselves Christians, and that may enjoy their Religion freely, and without Disturbance, can judge it lawful for them to disturb the Quiet of any Kingdom or State, or overturn Constitutions, that so they themselves may be admitted to Employments; and that these Laws, in which the Security and Quiet of the establish'd Religion consists, shall be shaken. And as to what Mr. Stuart had writ, That the Roman Catholicks in Holland were not shut out from Employments and Places of Trust, he tells him, He was grossly mistaken. The Pensionary concludes, That their Highnesses could not concur with his Majesty in those Matters; for they believ'd they should have much to answer to God for, if the Consideration of any present Advantage should carry them to consent to Things, which they believe would not only be dangerous, but mischievous to the Protestant Religion.

Thus far Pensionary Fagel. And I would not have dwelt so long upon this Letter of his, if it were not for the noble Scheme of a just Liberty in Matters of Conscience, that's therein contain'd. Notwithstanding it was still given out at Court, and that even after it came to Mr. Stuart's Hands, That he had writ the quite contrary; though 'tis but Charity to suppose, that Mr. Stuart was a Man of more Honour, than to contribute to the Report. At last there was a Necessity of making publick the Pensionary's Letter in several Languages, which had wonderfull Influence upon the Minds of the Protestants of England, and was highly resented by King James.

However, King James had more than one Method in his View, how to accomplish his Design; for what a Parliament

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liament it may be would not do, he was resolv'd that an Army should: and therefore Care was taken to model his Troops as much to that End, as the Shortness of Time would allow.

Ireland was the inexhaustible Source whence England was to be furnish'd with *The modelling the Army.* a Romish Army; and an Irish Roman Catholic was the most welcome Guest at *Whitenall.* They came over in Shoals, to take possession of the promis'd Land, and had already swallow'd up in their Hopes the best Estates of the Hereticks in England. Over and above compleat Regiments of them, there was scarce a Troop or Company wherein some of them were not plac'd by exprefs Order from Court. Several Protestants that had serv'd well and long, were turn'd out, to make Room for them; and seven considerable Officers were cashier'd in one Day, merely for refusing to admit them. The chief Forts, and particularly *Portsmouth* and *Hull*, the two Keys of England, were put into Popish Hands, and the Garrisons so modell'd, that the Majority were Papists.

To over-awe the Nation, and to make Slavery familiar, this Army was encamp'd yearly near London, where the only publick Chappel in the Camp was appointed for the Service of the Romish Church; and strict Orders given out, that the Soldiers of that Religion should not fail every Sunday and Holiday to repair thither to Mass.

As Ireland was remarkable for having furnish'd King James with Romish Troops *The Methods us'd in Ireland.* sent into England, so it was much more for the barefac'd and open Invasions that were made there, upon the Liberties and Rights of the Protestants. That Kingdom was the most proper Field to ripen their Projects in, considering that the Protestants were much out-number'd by the Papists, and had been for some Ages the constant Object of their Rancor and

Envy, which had been more than once exprest'd in Letters of Blood.

Tyrconnel King *James* did recall the Earl of *Clarendon* from the Government of *Ireland*, soon after he was sent thither, and appointed the *Earl of Tyrconnel* to succeed him, who was a Gentleman had signaliz'd himself for his Bigotry to the Church of *Rome*, and his Hatred to the Protestants. The *Roman Catholick* Clergy had recommended him to King *James* for that Post, in a Letter mention'd at length in the *Appendix*, as

Appendix, one that did first espouse, and chiefly maintain the
Numb. 21 Cause of the Catholick Clergy, against their
many and powerful Enemies, for the last five
and twenty Years; and was then the only Person under whose
Fortitude and Popularity in that Kingdom, they durst with
Chearfulness and Assurance own their Loyalty, and assert
his Majesty's Interest: Making it therefore their humble
Request, That his Majesty would be pleas'd to lodge his
Authority in his Hands, to the Terror of the Factious, and
Encouragement of his Majesty's faithful Subjects in Ireland,
promising to receive him with such Acclamations as the long-
raptiv'd Jews did their Redeemer Mordecai. Which Let-
ter shew'd they were not less mistaken in their History of
the Bible, than in their Advice to the King; for it does
not appear by the Story of Mordecai in the Scripture, that
he was ever sent to the Jews, or remov'd from the City
of Shushan, after he came into Favour with Ahasuerus.

However, *Tyrconnel* fully answer'd the Hopes and Expectations of the Papists, and the Fears of the Protestants of *Ireland*; for by the Ministry of this rigid Man, was the Ruin of the Protestant *English* Interest in that Kingdom in a great Measure compleated.

At King *James's* Accession to the Crown, the *Army of Ire* nd consisted of above seven thousand Men, all Protestant., and zealous to the Service. These were in a little

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Time all turn'd out, and the whole Army made up, of Papists most of them the Sons or Descendants, or near Relations of those that were attainted for the *Rebellion* in 1641. or others that had distinguish'd themselves since that Time, by their notorious Villanies, and implacable Hatred to the *English* and Protestant Interest.

Though in King *Charles's* Time, by the Influence of the Duke of *York*, there had been Grounds of Complaint against some of the Judges in *Ireland*, Upon the Account of their Partiality to the Papists, *The Manner of filling the Benches in Ireland.*

yet when King *James* came to the Crown, these very Judges were not thought fit enough for the Work that was design'd. It was judg'd necessary to employ the most zealous of the *Party*, those that from Interest and Inclination were the most deeply engag'd to destroy the Protestant Interest; and accordingly such were pick'd out to sit in every Court of Justice.

The Custody of the King's Conscience and *Great Seal*, was given to Sir *Alexander Fitton*, a Person convicted of *Forgery*, not only at *Westminster-Hall* and at *Chester*, but fin'd for it by the Lords in Parliament. This Man was taken out of Goal, to discharge the Trust of Lord *High-Chancellor*, and had no other Qualities to recommend him, besides his being a *Convert* to the *Romish* Church, and a *Renegado* to his Religion and Country. To him were added, as Masters of *Chancery*, one *Strafford*, a Popish Priest, and *O-Neal*, the Son of one of the most notorious Murderers in the *Massacre* of 1641.

In the *Kings-Bench*, Care was taken to place one *Nugent*, whose Father had lost his Honour and Estate for being a principal Actor in the same *Rebellion*. This Man, who had never made any Figure at the Bar, was pitch'd upon to judge whether the *Outlawries* against his Father and Fellow-Rebels, ought to be revers'd; and whether the Settlements that were made in *Ireland* upon these *Outlawries*, ought to stand good.

The

The next Court is that of *Exchequer*, from which only, of all the Courts in *Ireland*, there lies no Appeal or Writ of Error in *England*. It was thought fit, that one *Rice*, a profligate Fellow, and noted for nothing but Gaming, and a mortal Inveteracy against the Protestants, should fill the Place of Lord *Chief Baron*. This Man was often heard to say, before, he came to be a Judge, *That he would drive a Coach and six Horses through the Act of Settlement*: And before that Law was actually repeal'd in King *James's* Parliament, he declar'd upon the Bench, *That it was against natural Equity, and did not oblige*. It was before him, that all the *Charters* in the Kingdom

Dr. King, Bishop of Londonderry, his State of Ireland under King James.

were damn'd in the space of a Term or two; so much was he for Dispatch. A learned *Prelate*, from whose Book all the Things that here relate to that Country, are taken, does observe, That if this Judge had been left alone, it was believ'd, in a few Years, he would, by some Contrivance or other, have given away most of the Protestants Estates in *Ireland*, without troubling a Parliament to attain them.

In the Court of *Common-Pleas* it was thought advisable, that a Protestant *Chief Justice* should continue; yet so, as to Pinion him with two of their own sort, that might out-vote him upon Occasion.

The Administration of Justice and the Laws being in such Hands, it was no wonder that the poor Protestants in *Ireland* wish'd rather to have had no Laws at all, and be left to their natural Defence, than be cheated into the Necessity of submitting to Laws that were executed only, to punish, and not to protect them. Under such Judges, the *Roman Catholics* had a glorious Time; and had their Cause been never so unjust, they were sure to carry it; when the Chancellor did not stick on all Occasions, and sometimes on the Bench, to declare, *That the Protestants*

were

were all Rogues, and that among forty thousand of them, there was not one that was not a Traytor, a Rebel and a Villain.

The supreme Court being thus fill'd up, it was but reasonable all other Courts should keep pace with them. In the Year 1687, there was not a Protestant *Sheriff* in the whole Kingdom, except one; and he put in by Mistake, for another of the same Name, that was a *Roman Catholic*. Some few *Protestants* were continu'd in the *Commission of the Peace*; but they were render'd uselefs, and insignificant, being over-power'd in every Thing by the great Number of *Papists* join'd in commission with them, and those, for the most part, of the very Scum of the People; and a great many, whose Fathers had been executed for Theft, Robbery or Murder.

The *Privy-Council* of *Ireland* is a great Part of the Constitution, and has considerable Privileges and Powers annex'd to it. This was likewise so modell'd, that the *Papists* made the Majority; and those few that were *Protestants*, chose, for the most part, to decline appearing at the *Board* since they could do those of their own Religion no Service.

The great Barrier of the People's Liberties both in *England* and *Ireland*, being their Right to chuse their own *Representatives* in Parliament; which being once taken away, they become Slaves to the Will of their Prince: The *Protestants* in *Ireland* finding a Necessity of securing this Right in their own Hands, had procur'd many *Corporations* to be founded, and had built many Corporate-Towns at their own Charges; from all which, the *Roman Catholics* were by their *Charters* excluded. This Barrier was broken through at one Stroke, by dissolving all the *Corporations* in the Kingdom, upon *Quo Warranto's* brought into the *Exchequer-Court*, and that without so much as the least Shadow of Law. Hereupon, new *Charters* were granted, and fill'd

The Regulating the Corporations in Ireland.

up chiefly with Papists, and Men of desperate or no Fortunes. And a Clause was inserted in every one of them which subjected them to the absolute Will of the King by which it was put into the Power of the Chief Governor to turn out, and put in whom he pleas'd, without shewing a Reason, or any formal Tryal at Law.

*The Severities
against the
Protestant
Clergy.*

The Protestant Clergy felt upon all Occasions the Weight of Tyrconnell's Wrath. The Priests began to declare openly, That the Tythes belong'd to them, and forbade their People, under the Pain of Damnation, to pay them to the Protestant Incumbents. This pass'd afterwards into an Act of Parliament, by which, not only all Tythes payable by Papists, were given to their own Priests; but likewise a Way was found out to make the Popish Clergy capable of enjoying the Protestant Tythes. Which was this: If a Protestant happen'd to be possess'd of a *Bishoprick*, a *Dignity*, or other *Living*, he might not by this new Act demand any Tythes, or Ecclesiastical Dues, from any *Roman Catholick*, and as soon as his Preferment became void by Death, Cession, or Absence, a Popish Bishop, or Clergy-man, was put into his Place. And the Act was so express, that there needed no more to oblige all Men to repute and deem a Man to be a *Roman Catholick* Bishop, or Dean of any Place, but the King's signifying him to be so, under his Privy Signet, or Sign Manual. As soon as any one came to be thus entitled to Bishoprick, Deanery, or Living, immediately all the Tythes, as well of *Protestants* as *Papists*, became due to him, with all the Glebes and Ecclesiastical Dues.

*Against the
University of
Dublin.*

The only great Nursery of Learning in Ireland, is the *University of Dublin*, consisting of a *Provost*, seven senior, and nine junior *Fellows*, and seventy *Scholars*, who are partly maintain'd by a yearly Sa-

larly

vary out of the *Exchequer*. This Salary the Earl of *Tyrconnell* stopt, merely for their not admitting into a vacant *Fellowship*, contrary to their Statutes and Oaths, a vicious ignorant Person, who was a new Convert. Nor could he be prevail'd with by any Intercession or Entreaty, to remove the Stop; by which, in Effect he dissolv'd the *Foundation*, and shut up the Fountain of Learning and Religion. This appear'd more plainly afterwards to have been his Design; for it was not thought enough, upon *K. James's* Arrival, to take away their Maintenance, but they were farther proceeded against, and the Vice-President, Fellows, and Scholars all turn'd out, their Furniture, Library and Communion-plate seiz'd; and every Thing that belong'd to the College, and to the private Fellows and Scholars, taken away. All this was done, notwithstanding that when they waited upon King *James* at his first Arrival at *Dublin*, he was pleas'd to promise them, *That he would preserve them in their Liberties and Properties, and rather augment than diminish the Privileges and Immunities that had been granted them by his Predecessors*. In the *House* they plac'd a Garrison, and turn'd the *Chappel* into a Magazine, and the Chambers into Prisons for the Protestants. One More, a Popish Priest, was made *Provost*; and one *Mackarty*, also a Priest, was made *Library-keeper*; and the whole design'd for them and their *Fraternity*.

One *Arch-bishoprick*, and several *Bishopricks*, and a great many other Dignities and Livings of the Church, were designedly kept vacant, and the Revenues first paid into the *Exchequer*, and afterwards dispos'd of to *Titular* Bishops and Priests, while in the mean Time the Cures lay neglected; so that it appear'd plainly, that the Design was to destroy the Succession of Protestant Clergymen. At length Things came to that height, after King *James* was in *Ireland*, that most of the Churches in and about *Dublin*, were seiz'd upon by the Government; and at last

Lutterel, Governor of *Dublin*, issu'd out his *Order*, mention'd in the *Appendix*, *Forbidding more than*
Appendix, *five Protestants to meet together, under Pain*
Numb. 22. of Death. Being ask'd, whether this was design'd to hinder their meeting in Churches?

He answer'd, it was design'd to hinder their meeting there, as well as in other Places. And accordingly all the Churches were shut up, and all religious Assemblies through the whole Kingdom forbidden, under the Pain of Death.

It were endless to enumerate all the *Miseries* that Reverend Author mentions, *The Act of Attainder in* which the Protestants of *Ireland* suffer'd in the Reign of King *James*: But to give a

decisive Blow, there was an Act of Attainder pass'd in Parliament, in order to which every Member of the House of Commons return'd the Names of all such Protestant Gentlemen as liv'd near them, or in the Country or Borough for which he serv'd; and if he was a Stranger to any of them, he sent to the Country for Information about them. When this Bill was presented to the King for his Assent, the Speaker of the House of Commons told him, *That many were attainted in that Act upon such Evidence as satisfy'd the House, and the Rest upon common Fame.*

In this Act were no fewer attainted, than two Arch-bishops, one Duke, seventeen Earls, seven Countesses, twenty eight Viscounts, two Viscountesses, seven Bishops, eighteen Barons, thirty three Baronets, fifty one Knights, eighty three Clergymen, two thousand one hundred eighty two Esquires and Gentlemen: And all of them unheard, declar'd and adjudg'd Traytors, convicted and attainted of High Treason, and adjudg'd to suffer the Pains of Death and Forfeiture. The famous Proscription at *Rome*, during the last Triumvirate, came not up in some Respects to the Horror of this; for there were condemn'd in this little Kingdom more than double the Number that were proscrib'd

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proscrib'd through the vast Bounds of the *Roman* Empire. And to make this of *Ireland* yet the more terrible, and to put the Persons attainted out of a possibility of escaping, the Act itself was conceal'd, and no Protestant allow'd a Copy of it, till four Months after it was past. Whereas in that of *Rome*, the Names of the Persons proscrib'd, were affix'd upon all the publick Places of the City, the very Day the Proscription was concerted; and thereby Opportunity was given to many of the noblest Families in *Rome*, to preserve themselves by a speedy Flight, for better Times.

There remain'd but one Kingdom more for the Romish Party to act their Designs in, and that was *Scotland*; where they reap'd a full Harvest of their Hopes, and there were scarce left the least Remains of antient Liberty in that Nation. Their Miseries were summ'd up in one new-coin'd Word, which was us'd in all the King's Declarations, and serv'd to express to the full their absolute Slavery; which was this, *That his Subjects were oblig'd to obey him without Reserve*. A Word that the Princes of the *East*, how absolute soever they be, did never yet pretend to in their Stile, whatever they might in their Actions. But I leave the Detail of the Encroachments that were made upon the Laws and Liberties of that Kingdom, to others that may be thought more impartial, as having suffer'd less in their Ruins.

While King *James* was thus push'd on by a head-strong Party, to enslave his Subjects, the other Princes and States of *Europe* look'd on with quite different Sentiments, according as their own Interests and Safety mov'd them. The greater Part did commiserate the Fate of these three Kingdoms, and wish'd for their Deliverance. The Protestants saw with Regret that they themselves were within an immediate Prospect of losing the most considerable Support of their Religion; and both they and the Roman Catho-

The Interest that foreign Princes and States had in England.

licks were equally convinc'd, that it was their common Interest to have *England* continue in a Condition to be the Arbiter of Christendom, especially at a Time when they saw they most needed it. On the other hand, it was the Interest of another Prince, that not only the King of *England* should be his Friend, but the Kingdom of *England* should become inconsiderable abroad, which it could not fail to be, when enslav'd at home.

King *James* had been again and again solicited, not only by Protestant Princes, but those of his own Religion, to enter into other Measures for the common Safety of *Europe*; at least, not to contribute to its Ruin, by espousing an Interest which they judg'd was opposite to it. The Emperor, among others, had, by his Ambassador, made repeated Instances to him to this Purpose; but with no

The Emperor's Letter to King James in Latin, printed at London, 1689.

better Success than the rest, as appears by a Letter he writ to him after his Abdication, which has been printed in several Languages, and was conceiv'd in elegant *Latin*, as all the publick Dispatches of that Court are. But all these Remonstrances had no weight with King *James*, tho' they had this good Effect in the end, as to put those Princes and States upon such Measures, as secur'd to them the Friendship of *England* in another way.

The Power of *France* was by this Time become the Terror and Envy of the rest of *Europe*; and that Crown had upon all sides extended its Conquests. The *Empire*, *Spain*, and *Holland*, seem'd to enjoy a precarious Peace, while the common Enemy of the Christian Name was making War with the Emperor, and the State of *Venice*, and was once very near being Master of the Imperial Seat, whereby he might have carry'd the War into the Bowels of *Germany*. The main Strength of the *Empire* being turn'd against the *Turks*, and that with various Success, there was another War declar'd against the Emperor by

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France; so that it came to be absolutely necessary for *Spain* and *Holland* to interpose, not as Mediators, for that they were not to hope for, but as Allies and Partners in the War. These last, as well as other Princes and States that lay nearest the *Rhine*, were expos'd to the Mercy of a Prince whom they were not able to resist, if *England* should look on as Neuters, or take part against them; the last of which they had reason to fear.

Thus it happen'd, that the Fortune of *England*, and that of the greatest part of Christendom came to be link'd together, and their common Liberties must of necessity have undergone one and the same Fate. The latter, from a natural Principle of Self-preservation, were resolv'd to make their last Effort to break the Fetters, which they saw were ready to be impos'd upon them; and the other, animated by the Example of their Ancestors, and the Constitution of their Country, which is diametrically opposite to Tyranny, were resolv'd to venture All, to retrieve themselves and their Posterity from the Chains that were already put upon them.

Both the one and the other might have struggled in vain to this Day with the Ruin that threaten'd them, if Heaven, in pity to their Condition, had not provided, in the Person of the Prince of *Orange*, the only Sanctuary that was left them to shelter their sinking State: This Prince, by his Mother, was a Nephew of *England*, and in Right of the Princess his Wife, the presumptive Heir of the Crown. by his Fathers side, he was Heir of an illustrious Family, that had eterniz'd their Name, by delivering their Country from Slavery, and laying the Foundation of a mighty Commonwealth, which has since prov'd the greatest Bulwark of the Protestant Religion, and the chief Support of the Liberty of Christendom. A Family born for the Good of Mankind, to be the Scourge of Tyrants, and Deliverers of the Oppress'd.

*The Interest
the Prince of
Orange had in
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The

The ill Circumstances of the House of Orange at his Birth.

The Father of this Prince dy'd young, possess'd of Hereditary Dignities he deriv'd from his Ancestors in the *States of the United Provinces*; which had plac'd them upon a level with most Princes of *Europe*, and had given them a Figure in the World equal to some Crown'd Heads. He had marry'd a Princess of *England*, the eldest Daughter of King *Charles I.* and left her with Child of this only Son, at a Time when the Royal Family of *England* was not only bereft of their Regal Power at home, but forc'd to seek Refuge abroad. The Father was scarce dead, and the Son yet unborn, when a Party in *Holland*, that always oppos'd the House of *Orange*, took hold of that unhappy Juncture, to divest the Family by a publick Decree, of all the Dignities and Offices they had enjoy'd since the first Foundation of that Commonwealth, and which they had so justly acquir'd as the Rewards of so many Glorious Services they had done their Country.

Under these dismal Circumstances was the Prince of *Orange*, now King of *England*, born; and in Apartments hung with Mourning, for the untimely Death of a Father, and the Murder of a Royal Grand-father, he first saw Light.

He was about ten Years of Age, when his Uncle King *Charles* the Second was restor'd; and whether it proceed'd from Want of Power, or of Will in the one, the Condition of the other was little better'd by that Change. 'Tis true, King *Charles*, in his Wars with *Holland*, did always mention the Injury done to his Nephew, as one of the Motives of his breaking with the States: Yet neither in the Treaty of *Breda* in 1667, nor in the Alliance made at the *Hague* in 1668, nor that of the Peace concluded at *London* in 1673-4, was there any Notice taken of the Prince of *Orange's* Interest. In this last 'tis confess'd it was needless, seeing some little Time before, he was restor'd to all his

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his Hereditary Offices and Dignities upon the following Occasion.

King *Charles*, the *French King*, and the Bishop of *Munster*, had enter'd into a mutual League against the *Hollanders* in the Year 1672. While in Pursuance of that League, King *Charles* without any previous Declaration of War, did send out a strong Squadron of Ships to intercept their *Smyrna Fleet*, and ruin their Trade at Sea; and, while the Bishop of *Munster* did invade the Provinces that lay next to him, the *French King*, at the head of a Royal Army, of at least 118000 Foot, and 26000 Horse, broke in upon them on the other side. Like an impetuous Torrent he carry'd all before him, without any remarkable Opposition; making himself Master, in a few Weeks, of above forty Towns, and Places of Strength; some without firing a Gun, and the rest with little or no Resistance. This Army was Compos'd of the best Troops that had been seen together for some Ages before, and was made up of several Nations. Over and above the *French* themselves, there were 3000 *English*, 3000 *Catalans*, 3000 *Genoese*, and other *Italians*, 6000 *Savoyards*, 1200 *German Horse*, 10000 *Swissers*, without reckoning into the Number, the antient Regiments of that Nation in the *French Service*; and which was altogether new and extraordinary, their was a Regiment of *Swiss Horse*. Under the King in Person, this Army was commanded by two of the greatest Generals of the Age, the late Prince of *Conde*, and the *Mareschal Turenne*.

Never was any State nearer its Ruin, than that of *Holland* was upon this Irruption; and in the Opinion of all the World, the end of that flourishing Republick was then at hand. The *French* pierced into

The manner how he was restor'd to the Dignities of his Family.

Memoirs Politiques de Monsieur du Mont.

The desperate Condition of Holland, An. 1672.

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the Bowels of *Holland* as far as *Utrecht*, where the King kept a splendid Court, and receiv'd Embassies from all Parts. He was already Master of three of the seven Provinces, and a fourth was in the Hands of the Bishop of *Munster*, his Ally. The Consternation was so great in the rest, that 'tis said, it was debated at *Amsterdam*, whether they should send the Keys of that Town to the French King at *Utrecht*, or hold out a Siege.

Scarce any Thing can paint out in livelier Colours the low Ebb the Commonwealth of *Holland* was brought to at that Time, than the Declaration which the French King publish'd at *Arnhem*, plac'd at length in the

Appendix, Appendix. In this, the French King declar'd, Numb. 23. that all the Inhabitants of the Towns in *Holland*,

that should render themselves willingly his Subjects, and receive his Troops, should not only be treated favourably, but likewise be maintain'd in their Liberties and privileges, and enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion. But on the contrary, whoever of them did not submit themselves, of what Degree or Condition soever they be, or should endeavour to resist his Arms, by opening their Sluices, or any other Way, they should be punish'd with the utmost Rigour: His Majesty being resolv'd to give no Quarter to the Inhabitants of those Towns that shall resist his Arms, but an Order to pillage their Goods, and burn their Houses.

Among the more immediate Causes of this surprizing Desolation of *Holland*, upon the Irruption of the French Army, there were chiefly these two: 1. The supine Security, or rather profound Lethargy, they were of late fallen into. And, 2. Their intestine Divisions.

As to the first, a vast opulent Trade thro' most Parts of the World had wonderfully enrich'd them, and brought them to neglect and forget the Art of War. A Peace that

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that had continu'd without any remarkable Interruption for about twenty Years at Land, lull'd them so fast asleep with false Notions of their own Strength, that they had neglected their Fortifications and Martial Discipline, and were brought to believe, that their Neighbour's Garrisons and strong Places were sufficient to cover them from all Insults.

As to the second, Their Ancestors, at the first founding their State, taking into their Consideration, that they were to raise a Commonwealth out of a great many distinct Governments, independent originally on one another, and govern'd by Customs and Laws peculiar to every Town and Province, and how difficult it was to prevent intestine Divisions in a Body thus aggregated; did wisely provide against such a destructive Inconvenience, by constituting an Hereditary Stadtholder and Captain-General, whose Office and Power was to be the Center in which all the various Lines of their Constitution should meet, and the Cement that should keep the whole Frame together. This high and important Dignity was lodg'd in the Family of *Orange*; and it was to the auspicious Conduct of the Princes of that House, that the States of *Holland* ow'd their first Settlement, and the Figure they have made ever since in the World.

What their Ancestors foresaw, and had thus wisely provided against, came, to pass: For no sooner was this Office and Dignity abolish'd, upon the death of the last Prince of *Orange*, through the Interest of a Prevailing Faction, but they fell into intestine Divisions and Animosities at home, and sunk in their Reputation abroad; insomuch, that it was justly said, *That instead of being the United, they were become the Disunited Provinces.*

There may be a third Reason given for this Chain of Misfortunes that overwhelm'd the *Hollanders* the first Year of this War. From a false, though plausible Notion of saving Money, they thought fit to reduce their Army to 25000 Men, and rejected the repeated Propositions of *Spain*,

to enter into a Treaty with them for a mutual Supply of Money yearly to *England* and *Sweden*, by which these two Crowns might be enabled and encourag'd to maintain and continue the Triple League. And, which was yet worse, the few Troops they had, were in a bad Condition, and sunk to a very low Degree, both in Discipline and Courage. Their Fortifications were every where fallen into Decay, and their Magazines ill provided. To compleat all their Misfortunes, they wanted a Head to command them, at least one of Weight and Authority enough to support so great a Trust.

It were in vain to attempt to express the deplorable Condition of the *Hollanders* at that Time. 'Tis enough to say, the Approach of a triumphant King, flush'd with Victories, put them into so deep a Consternation, that a great many of the richest Families abandon'd their Country, and retir'd to *Hamburgh*, *Antwerp*, and other Places of Security; while the States General were upon giving Orders for removing the Courts and Archieves from the *Hague*, for fear they should fall into the Enemy's Hands. This horrid Fright, which spread it self every where, and grew every Day greater, was sufficient of it self to occasion the entire Ruin of their State, though it had not been accompanied, as it was, with Seditions, Divisions, and Tumults in every Town and Province, and they had no Enemy within their Bowels. Those alone did naturally tend to the Dissolution of the *Belgick* Union, without any other concurring Circumstances to hurry it on.

Matters standing thus in the *United Provinces*, they came to see, when it was almost too late, their former Errors, and more particularly that of abolishing the Office of Stadtholder. And now, as the last Cast for their Liberty, they apply'd to the Prince of *Orange*, (young though he was) as the only Person capable to support their tottering State, and to put a stop to the Miseries that overwhelmed their Country. With the universal Consent and

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Approbation of the People, and the publick Sanction of the States, he was declar'd Stadtholder, Captain and Admiral General, and restor'd to all the Dignities of his Family.

'Tis hard to determine whether the Misfortunes of his Country, or the universal Love the People bore him, contributed most to his Restoration. However, he was restor'd in spite of the *Barnevelt* Faction, and had the pleasure to see *De Wit*, the greatest Opposer of his House among the other Deputies that waited upon him with the Resolutions of the States General, and deliver'd him his first Commission.

The Difficulties this young Prince had to struggle with, in supporting his sinking Country, would have pall'd any Courage but his own; and may in the main be gather'd from what has been already said. What

these were, upon his first heading the Army, are in part so well express'd by a French Author, who was a considerable Actor in that War on the French side, and has writ the Account of it with an Impartiality not over-frequent among the Historians of his Country, that it may not be amiss to transcribe some few Passages relating to this Matter, as they lie together in the *English* Translation.

" Nothing but the Season of the

" Year, *says he*, hinder'd the French

" from attempting new Conquests, or

" rather the Waters which cover'd the

" Surface of the Earth. The Duke of

" *Luxemburgh* being still at *Utrecht*,

" hoped however, that if once it came

" to freeze, he might by means of the

" Ice surprize several Posts, that were otherwise inac-

" cessible. As the Enemy (*meaning the* *Hollanders*) were

" not unacquainted with his Design, they had ever the

The History of the Marechal Turenne, by Monsieur de Buffon, rendered out of French by Fer-rand Spence, 1686.

The Difficulties the P. of Orange had to grapple with for retrieving his Country from Ruin.

“ Shovel and Pick-ax in their Hands, to precaution themselves against this Misfortune, upon the first Frost that should come. They broke the least Piece of Ice, hoping, by taking such strict Care, they should render all his Measures abortive. But it happening to freeze all of a sudden, it was impossible for them to repair in several Days what fell out in one Night. This cast so great an Alarm into the Places that were the most expos'd, that People's Minds were wholly set upon removing thence what they had most precious.

“ The Consternation spread itself to the very *Hague*, which being destitute of Walls and Defence, could not otherwise expect but a strange Desolation, if the Posts that cover'd it came to be forc'd. However, the Prince of *Orange*, who laid the publick Miseries as much to heart, as if they had only regarded himself, had not for all this been under any Apprehensions, if his Troops, by being so often beaten, had not utterly lost their Courage; for tho' the Ice seem'd to give a great Advantage to the *French*, they would however, run a great Risque, in coming to attack him in Places well intrench'd, and where his *Highness* might oppose against them as many Men as they could have. He was busy'd Day and Night, either in adding new Fortifications to those that were already made, or in encouraging his Captains, and Soldiers. But whatever Care he took, Colonel *Penvil* abandon'd his Post upon the Request of the Inhabitants of

“ *Dergau*, who sent for him to maintain
 The Duke of “ their Walls: The Duke of *Luxem-*
Luxemburgh's “ *burgh* trussing rather to the Terror
Cruelties at “ than the Strength of his Troops,
Swammerdam. “ marching in the mean while towards
 “ *Bodegrave* and *Swammerdam*, won
 “ both Sword in Hand. And, as if this Action had not
 “ been sufficiently glorious, by reason of the little Opposition he met with, he would render it the more remarkable

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“ markable, not only by the Slaughter that he made of
 “ those that were found in Arms, but of all sorts of Per-
 “ sons, even Women and Children. He was often heard,
 “ amidst the piteous Cries that every one made to move
 “ him to Compassion, to bid his Soldiers give no Quarter,
 “ but plunder, ravish, and kill. He himself did what he
 “ said; and his Men, after his Example, having delug’d
 “ the Streets with Rivers of Blood, enter’d the Houses,
 “ where they committed inconceivable Cruelties. Seve-
 “ ral Women were violated in their Husbands Arms, se-
 “ veral Maidens in their Fathers; and whoever went a-
 “ bout to oppose such criminal Excesses, was piteously
 “ massacred by these *Furies*, who suffer’d themselves to
 “ be no longer govern’d but by their disorderly Passion, and
 “ by their Cruelty. *Thus far my Author.*

Notwithstanding these Difficulties and Discouragements
 that seem’d insuperable, wonderful and surprizing were
 the Consequences of the Prince of *Orange’s* Restoration.
 As if that Family alone were design’d of Heaven to be
 the Founder and Restorer of *Holland*; it fell out, that im-
 mediately upon his being call’d to the *Helm*, the whole
 Scene of their Affairs chang’d to the better. At the head
 of a small ill-disciplin’d Army, discourag’d by continual
 Losses, he not only put a stop to the *French* Conquests,
 but by taking first *Naerden*, in spite of an Army near
 four Times greater than his own, and carrying afterwards
 the War out of his own Country, he oblig’d the Enemy to
 abandon their Conquests in *Holland*, as fast as they had
 gain’d them, and be contented to retire to the Defence of
 their own Frontiers.

This War was attended with various Successes on all
 sides, and most of the Princes of *Europe* came to be some
 way or other engag’d in it, till at last it ended in the Trea-
 ty of *Nimeguen*. The part King *Charles* acted in all these
 Transactions, contributed but little to his Glory; for he
 had been unsuccessful while he was engag’d in the War,
 and

and when he came to be a Mediator for the Peace, all Parties grew jealous of him, and neglected him.

It was during the Course of this War, as has been said before, that King *Charles* aton'd for all the Errors of his Reign, by marrying his Niece, the Lady *Mary*, to the Prince of *Orange*: And whatever were the Motives that induc'd him to comply in this with the universal Wishes of his People, it has been found since, that not only *England*, but the greatest part of *Europe*, do share at this Day in the Blessings that have attended it.

By this Match, the Prince of *Orange* had a double interest in *England*, both as a Prince of the Blood himself, and in Right of his Princess, the next Presumptive Heir. He liv'd with King *Charles* in as much Friendship as was possible, for one that would not enter into an Interest separate from that of his Country, or of *England*; infomuch, that in all the Endeavours that were made to exclude the Duke of *York* from the Crown, he look'd on, without espousing any of the Parties that struggled for or against the Bill of Exclusion, though he knew it was design'd, that he and the Princess should succeed upon the Death of King *Charles*.

When King *James* came to the Throne, the Prince of *Orange* try'd all possible means to cultivate a sincere Friendship with him, and to persuade him to enter into such Measures as might tend to the common Safety of *Europe*, and the Happiness of *England*; which, if King *James* had given ear to, would have preserv'd the Crown upon his Head. And so cautious was he of giving him any reasonable Ground of Complaint, that tho' in King *Charles*'s Time he had given a generous Welcome to the Duke of *Munmouth*, at the Request of that King, upon his retiring to *Holland*; yet as soon as he knew that that unhappy Gentleman design'd to invade *England* upon King *James*'s Accession to the Throne, he offer'd to come over in Person to his Assistance, and sent him with all

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Expedition the *English* and *Scotch* Troops that were in the Service of the States.

It had been happy for King *James*, if he had comply'd with the Advice of the Prince of *Orange*, or had not by his Success against *Munmouth*, been push'd on to make the Steps that have been mention'd, together with a great many more, for Brevity's Sake here omitted, towards his own Ruin, and that of the Constitution of *England*. But being flatter'd with the gawdy Charms of absolute Power, and the empty Merit of restoring the Romish Religion, he drove on without controul, till at last he forc'd the People of *England* upon an inevitable Necessity of calling in the Prince of *Orange* to retrieve the expiring Liberties of their Country.

At the same Time an indissoluble Friendship and Alliance, which King *James* had enter'd into when Duke of *York*, and had cultivated afterwards when he came to the Crown, was a Matter of that vast Consequence to the neighbouring Princes and States, as would not permit them to stand by as unconcern'd Spectators of the Scene that was acted in *England*; but oblig'd them likewise to have recourse to the Prince of *Orange* for breaking off their own Fetters, by breaking first those of *England*.

But by what Steps and concurring Accidents, and with what surprizing Circumstances this mighty Design came about, may some Time or other, though perhaps not so properly in this Age, be the Subject of a second Part, when it meets with one of more Leisure and Capacity to write it.

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A P P E N D I X.

CONTAINING

A Collection of Instruments and Original Papers, referr'd to in the former Memoirs.

N U M B. I.

The Character of the Members of the House of Commons in Queen Elizabeth's Time, and how differing from those in the Reign of King James. *Memoirs, p. 5.*
Nauntton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 13. 14.

WE must ascribe some part of the Commendation to the Wisdom of the Times, and the Choice of Parliament Men; for I find not that they were at any Time given to any violent or pertinacious Dispute, Elections being made of grave and discreet Persons, not factious, and ambitious of Fame; such as came not to the House with a malevolent Spirit of Contention, but with a Preparation to consult on the publick Good, rather to comply than contest with her Majesty. Neither do I find, that the House was at any Time weaken'd and pester'd with the Admission of too many young Heads, as it hath been of later Times; which remembers me of Recorder *Martin's* Speech, about the tenth of our late Sovereign

Y

vereign Lord King *James*, when there were Accounts taken of forty Gentlemen not above twenty, and some not exceeding sixteen : which mov'd him to say, That it was the antient Custom for old Men to make Laws for young ones; but that then he saw the Case alter'd, and that there were Children elected into the Great Council of the Kingdom, which came to invade and invert Nature, and to enact Laws to Govern their Fathers. Sure we are, the House always took the Common Cause into their Consideration, and they saw the Queen had just occasion, and need enough to use their Assistance. Neither do I remember, that the House did ever capitulate, or prefer their private to the publick, the Queen's Necessities, &c. but waited their Times, and in the first place gave their Supply, and according to the Exigency of her Affairs, yet fail'd not at last to obtain what they desir'd : so that the Queen and her Parliaments had ever the good fortune to depart in Love, and on reciprocal Terms; which are Considerations which have not been so exactly observ'd in our last Assemblies as they might, and I would to God they had been : for considering the great Debt left on the King, and in what Incumbrances the House itself had then drawn him, his Majesty was not well us'd, though I lay not the blame on the whole Suffrage of the House, where he had many good Friends; for I dare avouch, had the House, been free'd of half a dozen of popular and discontented Persons, such as (with the Fellow that burnt the Temple at *Ephesus*) would be talk'd of, tho' but for doing of Mischief, I am confident the King had obtain'd that which in Reason, and at his first Accession, he ought to have receiv'd freely, and without any Condition.

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NUMB. II.

The Character of *Cecil*, Earl of *Salisbury*; with his Letter to the Lord *Naunton*, Ibid. p. 80, 81, p 82, 83.
Mountjoy, about the *Spaniards* invading *Ireland*.

AND so again to this great Master of State, and the Staff of the Queen's declining Age; who, though his little crooked Person could not promise any great Supportation, yet it carried thereon a Head and a Head-piece of a vast Content: and therein it seems Nature was so diligent to compleat one and the best part about him, as that to the Perfection of his Memory and Intellectuals, she took care also of his Senses, and to put him in *Linceos Oculos*, or to pleasure him the more, borrowed of *Argos*, so to give unto him a prospective Sight: And for the rest of his sensitive Virtues, his Predecessor *Walsingham* had left him a Receipt to smell out what was done in the Conclave; and his good old Father was so well seen in the Mathematicks, as that he could tell you through all *Spain*, every Port, every Ship, with the Burdens, whither bound, what Preparation, what Impediments for Diversion, of Enterprizes, Counsels, and Resolutions. And that we may see (as in a little Map) how docible this little Man was, I will present a Taste of his Abilities.

My Lord of *Devonshire* (upon the certainty the *Spaniard* would invade *Ireland* with a *Mountjoy*. strong Army) had written very earnestly to the Queen and the Council, for such Supplies to be sent over, that might enable him to march up to the *Spaniard*, if he did land, and follow on his Prosecution against the Rebels. Sir *Robert Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*.
 (besides the general Dispatch of the Coun-

cil, as he often did) wrote this in private; for these two began then to love dearly.

My Lord,

OUT of the abundance of my Affection, and the Care I have of your Well-doing, I must in private put you out of doubt, (for of Fear I know you cannot be otherwise sensible, than in the way of Honour) that the Spaniard will not come unto you this Year; for I have it from my own, what Preparations are in all his Ports, and what he can do; for be confident, he beareth up a Reputation by seeming to embrace more than he can gripe: but the next Year be assur'd he will cast over unto you some forlorn Hopes, which how they may be reinforce'd beyond his present Ability, and his first Intention, I cannot as yet make any certain Judgment; but I believe, out of my Intelligence, that you may expect their landing in Munster, and, the more to distract you, in several Places, as at Kingsale, Beerhaven, Beltimeore; where you may be sure (coming from Sea) they will first fortify and learn the strength of the Rebels, before they dare take the Field. Howsoever, (as I know you will not) lessen not your Care, neither your Defences; and whatsoever lies within my Power to do you and the Publick Service, rest therefore assur'd.

Note, All came exactly to pass, as this Letter insinuates.

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NUMB. III.

Queen Elezabeth's Speech to the
House of Commons, in answer
to their Address about her Mar-
riage.

Memoirs, p. 9. *Camb-*
den's Hist. of Queen
Eliz. p. 26, 27.

IN a Matter most displeasing, most pleasing to me is the
apparent Good-Will of you and my People, as pro-
ceeding from a very good Mind towards me and the Com-
monwealth. Concerning Marriage, which ye so earnestly
move me to, I have been long since persuaded, that I
was sent into this World by God, to think and do those
Things chiefly which may tend to his Glory. Hereupon
have I chosen that kind of Life which is most free from
the troublesome Cares of this World, that I might attend
the Service of God alone. From which, if either the ten-
der'd Marriages of Most potent Princes, or the danger of
Death intended against me, could have remov'd me, I
had long ago enjoy'd the Honour of an Husband. And
these Things have I thought upon when I was a private
Person: But now that the publick Care of governing the
Kingdom is laid upon me, to draw upon me also the
Cares of Marriage, may seem a Point of inconsiderate Fol-
ly. Yea, to satisfy you, I have already joint my self in
Marriage to an Husband, namely the Kingdom of Eng-
land: And behold, said she, (*which I marvel ye have for-*
gotten) the Pledge of this my Wedlock and Marriage with
my Kingdom! [*And therewith she drew the Ring from her*
Finger, and shew'd it, where with at her Coronation she
had in a set Form of Words solemnly given her self in Mar-
riage to her Kingdom.] Here having made a Pause, And
do not (*said she*) upbraid me with miserable lack of Chil-
dren; for every one of you, and as many as are English-

men,

men, are Children and Kinsmen to me; of whom, if God deprive me not, (which God forbid) I cannot, without Injury, be accounted barren. But I commend you, that ye have not appointed me an Husband; for that were most unworthy the Majesty of an absolute Princess, and unbeseeming your Wisdom, which are Subjects born. Nevertheless, if it please God that I enter into another Course of Life, I promise you I will do nothing which may be prejudicial to the Commonwealth; but will take such an Husband, as near as may be, as will have as great a care of the Commonwealth, as my self. But if I continue in this kind of Life I have begun, I doubt not but God will so direct mine own and your Counsels, that ye shall not need to doubt of a Successor which may be more beneficial to the Commonwealth, than he which may be born of me, considering that the Issue of the best Princes many Times degenerateth. And to me it shall be a full Satisfaction, both for the Memorial of my Name, and for my Glory also, if when I shall let my last Breath, it be engraven upon my Marble Tomb, *Here lieth ELIZABETH, who reign'd a Virgin, and dy'd a Virgin.*

NUMB. IV.

Memoirs, p. 9. Queen Elizabeth's Letter to King Henry IV. of France, upon his changing his Religion.

ALAS! what deep Sorrow, what vehement Grief, what Sighs have I felt at my Heart for the Things which *Morlante* hath told me of? Alas! is the World come to this pass? Was it possible, that any worldly Matter should make you quit the Fear of God? Can we expect any happy Issue of such a Fact? Or could you think, that

APPENDIX.

167

that he who hath hitherto with his own right Hand upholden and preserv'd you, would now forsake you? 'Tis a very dangerous Thing to do Evil, that Good may come of it; yet I hope a sober Spirit will put you into a better Mind. In the mean Time, I will not omit to make it a principal part of my Prayers, the recommending you to God, beseeching him, that the Hands, of *Esau* may not lose you the Blessing of *Jacob*. Whereas you do religiously and solemnly offer me your Friendship, I know to my great Cost I have well deserv'd it; neither should I repent that, had you not chang'd your Father. Verily, from henceforth I cannot be your Sister by the Father; for the Truth is, I shall ever more dearly love and honour mine own Father, than a false and counterfeited one: Which God knoweth very well, who (I beseech him) bring you back again to a better Mind.

Subscrib'd,

*Your Sister, if it be after the
old manner; as for the new,
I have nothing to do with it.*

Elizabeth R.

NUMB. V.

An Account of what was remarkable *Memoirs*, p. 15.
upon opening the Body of Pr. Henry.

First, we found his Liver paler than ordinary, in certain Places somewhat wan. his Gall without any Choler in it, and distended with Wind. Truth brought to Light, or the first 14 Years of King *James* p. 33.

Secondly, His Spleen was in divers Places more than ordinary black.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, his Stomach was in no part offended.

Fourthly, His Midriff was in divers Places black.

Fifthly, his Lungs were very black, and in divers Places spotted, and full of a thin watry Blood.

Lastly, The Veins in the hinder part of his Head, were fuller than ordinary, but the Ventricles and Hollowness of the Brain were full of clear Water.

In Witness whereof, with our own Hands we have subscribed this present Relation, the seventh Day of November, 1612.

Mayerne,	}	{	Palmer,
Atkins,			Gifford,
Hammond,			Butler.

NUMB. VI.

Mr. Secretary *Vane's* Notes about
the Earl of *Strafford's* Advice *Memoirs* p. 36. *Whit-*
to King *Charles*, to bring over *lock's* *Memoirs*, p. 41.
an Army from *Ireland*, to subdue *England*.

Note, This was the most dubious, and yet the most material Article against him, which contributed most to his Ruin.

The Title of them was,

*No Danger of a War with Scotland,
If Offensive, not Defensive.*

K. Charles. **H**OW can we undertake offensive
War, if we have no more Money?
L. Strafford. Borrow of the City 100000 *l.* Go on vi-
gorously to levy Ship-Money. Your Majesty having try'd
the

APPENDIX. 169

the Affection of our People, you are absolv'd and loose from all Rule of Government, and to do what Power will admit. Your Majesty having try'd all Ways, and being refus'd, shall be acquitted before God and Man. And you have an Army in *Ireland* that you may employ to reduce this Kingdom to Obedience; for I am confident the *Scots* cannot hold out 5 Months.

A Bp *Laud*. You have try'd all ways, and have always been deny'd: It is now lawful to take it by Force.

L. *Cottington*. Levies abroad there may be made for Defence of the Kingdom. The lower House are weary of the King and Church. All Ways shall be just to raise Money by, in this inevitable Necessity, and are to be us'd, being lawful.

A Bp *Laud*. For an offensive, not a defensive War.

L. *Strafford*. The Town is full of Lords: Put the Commission of Array on foot; and if any of them stir, we will make them smart.

NUM B. VII.

The Theatrical Manner of Archbishop <i>Laud</i>'s consecrating <i>Katherine Creed-Church</i>, in <i>London</i>.	<i>Memoirs</i>, p. 38. <i>Rusworth</i>, Part 2. Vol. 1. Page 77.
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ST. *Katherine-Creed-Church* being lately repair'd, was suspended from all Divine Service, Sermons, and Sacraments, till it were consecrated. Wherefore Dr. *Laud*, Lord Bishop of *London*, on the 16th of *January*, being the Lord's Day, came thither in the Morning to consecrate the same: Now because great Exceptions were taken at the Formality thereof, we will briefly relate the Manner of the Consecration.

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At

At the Bishop's approach to the West-Door of the Church, some that were prepar'd for it, cry'd with a loud Voice, *Open, open ye everlasting Doors, that the King of Glory may enter in.* And presently the Doors were open'd; and the Bishop, with some Doctors, and many other principal Men, went in, and immediately falling down upon his Knees, with his Eyes lifted up, and his Arms spread abroad, utter'd these Words: *This Place is Holy, this Ground is Holy: In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it Holy.*

Then he took up some of the Dust, and threw it up into the Air several Times in his going up towards the Chancel. When they approach'd near to the Rail, and Communion-Table, the Bishop bow'd towards it several Times, and returning, they went round the Church in Procession, saying the hundredth Psalm, after that the nineteenth Psalm; and then said a Form of Prayer, *Lord Jesus Christ, &c.* and concluding, *We consecrate this Church, and separate it unto thee, as holy Ground, not to be profan'd any more to common Use.*

After this, the Bishop being near the Communion-Table, and taking a written Book in his Hand, pronounc'd Curses upon those that should afterwards profane that Holy Place, by Musters of Soldiers, or keeping profane Law-Courts, or carrying Burdens through it; and at the End of every Curse, he bow'd towards the East, and said, *Let all the People say, Amen.*

When the Curses were ended, he pronounc'd a number of Blessings upon all those that had any hand in framing and building of that sacred and beautiful Church, and those that had given, and should hereafter give any Chalice, Plate, Ornaments, or Utenfils: And at the end of every Blessing, he bow'd towards the East, saying, *Let all the People say, Amen.*

After this follow'd the Sermon; which being ended, the Bishop consecrated and administer'd the Sacrament, in manner following.

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As he approach'd the *Communion-Table*, he made many several lowly Bowings; and coming up to the side of the Table, where the Bread and Wine were cover'd, he bow'd seven Times: and then after the reading of many Prayers, he came near the Bread, and gently lifted up the Corner of the Napkin wherein the Bread was laid; and when he beheld the Bread, he laid it down again, flew back a Step or two, bow'd three several Times towards it; then he drew near again, and open'd the Napkin, and bow'd as before.

Then he laid his Hand on the Cup, which was full of Wine, with a Cover upon it, which he let go again, went back, and bow'd thrice towards it: then he came near again; and lifting up the Cover of the Cup, look'd into it, and seeing the Wine, he let fall the Cover again, retir'd back, and bow'd as before; then he receiv'd the Sacrament, and gave it to some principal Men: after which, many Prayers being said, the Solemnity of the Consecration ended.

N U M B. VIII.

The Order of Council against *Archibald, the Memoirs,*
King's Fool, for affronting Archbishop *Laud.* p. 38.

IT is this Day order'd by his Majesty,
with the Advice of the Board, That *Rushworth,*
Archibald Armstrong the King's Fool, for *Part. 2. Vol.*
certain scandalous Words of high Nature, *1. Pag. 471.*
spoken by him against the Lord Arch-
bishop of *Canterbury* his Grace, and prov'd to be utter'd
by him by two Witnesses, shall have his Coat pull'd over
his Head, and be discharg'd of the King's Service and
banish'd the Court; for which the Lord Chamberlain of
the King's Household is pray'd and requir'd to give Order

to be executed. *And immediately the same was put in execution.*

NUMB. IX.

*Memoirs, p. 41. Huf-
band's Collect. in 4
to. from P. 1. to
P. 29.*

The Petition of the House of Commons, and their Remonstrance of the State of the Nation, presented to King *Charles I.* at his Return from *Scotland* in 1641.

Together with the King's Answer, and the Declaration he afterwards publish'd to the same Purpose.

Note, *That the Matters contain'd in these four Papers, were the Grounds of the Civil War, and afterwards came to be decided by the Sword.*

The Petition of the House of Commons, which accompany'd the Declaration of the State of the Kingdom, when it was presented to his Majesty at Hampton-Court.

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most humble and faithful Subjects, the Commoners in this present Parliament assembled, do with much Thankfulness and Joy acknowledge the great Mercy and Favour of God, in giving your Majesty a safe and peaceable Return out of *Scotland* into your Kingdom of *England*; where the pressing Dangers and Distempers of the State, have caus'd us with much earnestness to desire the Comfort of your gracious Presence, and likewise the Unity and Justice of your Royal Authority, to give more Life and Power to the dutiful and loyal Counsels and Endeavours, of your Parliament, for the Prevention of that eminent Ruin and Destruction wherein

wherein your Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* are threaten'd. The Duty which we owe to your Majesty, and our Country, cannot but make us very sensible and apprehensive, that the Multiplicity, Sharpness, and Malignity of those Evils under which we have now many Years suffer'd, are fomented and cherish'd by a corrupt and ill-affected Party; who amongst other their mischievous Devices for the Alteration of Religion and Government, have thought by many false Scandals and Imputations, cunningly insinuated, and dispers'd amongst the People, to blemish and disgrace our Proceedings in this Parliament, and to get themselves a Party and Faction amongst your Subjects, for the better strengthening of themselves in their wicked Courses, and hindering those Provisions and remedies, which might, by the Wisdom of your Majesty, and Counsel of your Parliament, be oppos'd against them.

For preventing whereof, and the better Information of your Majesty, your Peers, and all other your loyal Subjects, we have been necessitated to make a Declaration of the State of the Kingdom, both before and since the Assembly of this Parliament unto this Time; which we do humbly present to your Majesty, without the least Intention to lay any blemish upon your Royal Person, but only to represent how your Royal Authority and Trust have been abus'd, to the great Prejudice and Danger of your Majesty, and of all your good Subjects.

And because we have reason to believe that those malignant Parties, whose Proceedings evidently appear to be mainly for the Advantage and increase of Popery, is compos'd, set up, and acted by the subtle Practice of the Jesuits, and other Engineers and Factors for *Rome*; and to the great Danger of this Kingdom, and most grievous Affliction of your loyal Subjects, have so far prevail'd, as to corrupt divers of your Bishops, and others in prime Places of the Church, and also to bring divers of these Instruments

ments to be of your Privy-Council, and other Employments of Trust and Nearness about your Majesty, the Prince, and the rest of your Royal Children.

And by this Means hath had such an Operation in your Council, and the most important Affairs and Proceedings of your Government, that a most dangerous Division, and chargeable Preparation for War betwixt your Kingdom of *England* and *Scotland*, the Increase of Jealousies betwixt your Majesty and your most obedient Subjects, the violent Distraction and Interruption of this Parliament, the Insurrection of the Papists in your Kingdom of *Ireland*, and bloody Massacre of your People, have been not only endeavour'd and attempted, but in a great measure compass'd and effected.

For preventing the final Accomplishment whereof, your poor Subjects are forc'd to engage their Persons and Estates to the maintaining of a very expenceful and dangerous War, notwithstanding they have already, since the beginning of this Parliament, undergone the Charge of 150000 *l.* Sterling, or thereabouts, for the necessary Support and Supply of your Majesty in these present and perillous Designs. And because all our most faithful Endeavours and Engagements will be ineffectual for the Peace, Safety, and Preservation of your Majesty and your People, if some present, real, and effectual Course be not taken for suppressing this wicked and malignant Party;

We your most humble and obedient Subjects, do with all Faithfulness and Humility beseech your Majesty,

1. That you will be graciously pleas'd to concur with the humble Desires of your People, in a Parliamentary way, for the preserving the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom from the malicious Designs of the Popish Party.

For deprivingt he Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, and abridging their immoderate Power usurp'd over the Clergy, and other your good Subjects; which they have most perniciously abus'd, to the Hazard of Religion, and

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great Prejudice and Oppression of the Laws of the Kingdom, and just Liberty of your People.

For the taking away such Oppressions in Religion, Church-Government, and Discipline, as have been brought in, and fomented by them.

For uniting all such your Loyal Subjects together, as join in the same fundamental Truths against the Papists, by removing some Oppressions and unnecessary Ceremonies, by which divers weak Consciences have been scrupled, and seem to be divided from the rest: For the due Execution of those good Laws which have been made for securing the Liberty of your Subjects.

2. That your Majesty will likewise be pleas'd to remove from your Council all such as persist to favour and promote any of those Pressures and Corruptions wherewith your People have been griev'd; and that for the future your Majesty will vouchsafe to employ such Persons in your great and publick Affairs, and to take such to be near you in Places of Trust, as your Parliament may have cause to confide in; that in your Princely Goodness to your People, you will reject and refuse all Mediation and Solicitation to the contrary, how powerful and near soever.

3. That you would be pleas'd to forbear to alienate any of the forfeited and escheated Lands in *Ireland*, which shall accrue to your Crown by reason of this Rebellion, that out of them the Crown may be the better supported, and some Satisfaction made to your Subjects of this Kingdom, for the great Expences they are like to undergo this War.

Which humble Desires of ours being graciously fulfill'd by your Majesty, we will, by the Blessing and Favour of God, most chearfully undergo the Hazard and Expences of this War, and apply our selves to such other Courses and Counsels, as may support your Royal Estate with Honour and Plenty at home, with Power and Reputation

Reputation abroad; and by our Loyal Affections, Obedience and Service, lay a sure and lasting Foundation of the Greatness and Prosperity of your Majesty, and your Royal Posterity in future Times!

A Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom.

Die Mercurii, 15. Decem. 1642.

THE Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having with much Earnestness, and Faithfulness of Affection and Zeal to the publick Good of this Kingdom, and his Majesty's Honour and Service, for the space of twelve Months, wrestled with the great Dangers and Fears, the pressing Miseries and Calamities, the various Distempers and Disorders, which had not only assaulted, but even overwhelm'd and extinguish'd the Liberty, Peace, and Prosperity of this Kingdom, the Comfort and Hopes of all his Majesty's good Subjects, and exceedingly weaken'd and undermin'd the Foundation and Strength of his own Royal Throne; do yet find an abounding Malignity and Opposition in those Parties and Factions, who have been the Cause of those Evils, and do still labour to cast Aspersions upon that which hath been done, and to raise many Difficulties for the hindrance of that which remains yet undone, and to soment Jealousies betwixt the King and the Parliament, that so they may deprive him and his People of the Fruit of his own gracious Intentions, and their humble Desires of procuring the publick Peace, Safety, and Happiness of this Realm. For the preventing of those miserable Effects, which such malicious Endeavours may produce, we have thought good to declare.

1. *The Root and the Growth of these mischievous Designs.*
2. *The Maturity and Ripeness to which they have attain'd before the beginning of the Parliament.*

3. *The effectual Means which have been us'd for the Extirpation of those dangerous Evils, and the Progress which hath therein been made by his Majesty's Goodness, and the Wisdom of the Parliament.*

4. *The Ways of Obstruction and Opposition by which that Progress hath been interrupted.*

5. *The Courses to be taken for removing those Obstacles, and for the accomplishing of our most dutiful and faithful Intentions and Endeavours of restoring and establishing the ancient Honour, Greatness, and Security of this Crown and Nation. The Root of all this Mischief, we find to be a malignant and pernicious Design of subverting the Fundamental Laws and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion and Justice of this Kingdom are firmly establish'd. The Actors and Promoters hereof, have been,*

1. *The Jesuited Papists, who hate the Laws, as the Obstacles of that Change and Subversion of Religion which they so much long for.*

2. *The Bishops, and the corrupt Part of the Clergy, who cherish Formality and Superstition, as the natural Effects, and more probable Supports of their own Ecclesiastical Tyranny and Usurpation.*

3. *Such Councillors and Courtiers, as for private Ends have engag'd themselves to farther the Interests of some foreign Princes or States, to the prejudice of his Majesty, and the State at home.*

The common Principles, by which they moulded and govern'd all their particular Counsels and Actions, were these:

First, To maintain continual Differences and Discontents betwixt the King and the People, upon Questions of Prerogative and Liberty; that so they might have the Advantage of siding with him, and under the Notions of Men addicted to his Service, gain to themselves, and their Parties, the Places of greatest Trust and Power in the Kingdom.

A second, To suppress the Purity and Power of Religion and such as were best affected to it, as being contrary to their

own Ends, and the greatest Impediment to that Change which they thought to introduce.

A third, To conjoin those Parties of the Kingdom which were most propitious to their own Ends, and to divide those who were most opposite, which consisted in many particular Observations; to cherish the Arminian Plot in those Points, wherein they agree with the Papists; to multiply and enlarge the Difference between the common Protestants, and those whom they call Puritans; to introduce and countenance such Opinions and Ceremonies, as are fittest for Accomodation with Popery; to increase and maintain Ignorance, Looseness, and Profaneness in the People; that of those three Parties, Papists, Arminians, and Libertines, they might compose a Body fit to act such Counsels and Resolutions, as were most conducive to their own Ends.

A fourth, To disaffect the King to Parliaments, by Slanders and false Imputations, and by putting him upon other Ways of Supply, which in Shew and Appearance were fuller of Advantage, than the ordinary Course of Subsidies, tho' in Truth they brought more Loss than Gain both to the King and People, and have caus'd the Distractions under which we both suffer.

As in all compounded Bodies, the Operations are qualify'd according to the predominant Element, so in this mixt Party, the Jesuited Counsels being most active and prevailing, may easily be discover'd to have had the greatest sway in all their Determinations; and if they be not prevented, are like to devour the rest, or to turn them into their own Nature.

In the beginning of his Majesty's Reign, the Party begun to revive and flourish again, having been somewhat damp't by the Breach with Spain in the last Year of King James, and by his Majesty's Marriage with France; the Interests and Counsels of that State, being not so contrary to the Good of Religion, and the Prosperity of this Kingdom, as those of Spain; and the Papists of England hav-

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ing been ever more addicted to *Spain* than *France*; yet they still retain'd a Purpose and Resolution to weaken the Protestant Parties in all Parts, and even in *France*, whereby to make way for the Change of Religion which they intended at home.

The first Effect and Evidence of their Recovery and Strength, was the Dissolution of the Parliament at *Oxford*, after there had been given two Subsidies to his Majesty; and before they receiv'd Relief in any one Grievance, many other more miserable Effects follow'd.

The Loss of the *Rochel* Fleet, by the help of our Shipping, set forth and deliver'd over to the *French*, in Opposition to the Advice of Parliament, which left that Town without Defence by Sea, and made way not only to the Loss of that important Place, but likewise to the Loss of all the Strength and Security of the Protestant Religion in *France*.

The diverting of his Majesty's Course of Wars from the *West-Indies*, which was the most facile and hopeful Way for this Kingdom to prevail against the *Spaniard*, to an expenceful and succesless Attempt upon *Galais*; which was so order'd, as if it had rather been intended to make us weary of War, than to prosper in it.

The precipitate Breach with *France*, by taking their Ships to a great Value, without making recompence to the *English*, whose Goods were thereupon imbar'd and confiscated in that Kingdom.

The Peace with *Spain*, without Consent of Parliament, contrary to the Promise of King *James* to both Houses, whereby the *Palatine* Cause was deserted, and left to chargeable and hopeless Treaties; which, for the most part, were manag'd by those who might justly be suspected to be no Friends to that Cause.

The charging of the Kingdom with billeted Soldiers in all Parts of it, and that concomitant Design of *German* Horse, that the Land might either submit with Fear, or

be enforc'd with Rigor to such Arbitrary Contributions as should be requir'd of them.

The dissolving of the Parliament in the second Year of his Majesty's Reign, after a Declaration of their Intent to grant five Subsidies.

The exacting of the like Proportion of five Subsidies after the Parliament, dissolv'd, by Commission of Loan, and divers Gentlemen and others imprison'd for not yielding to pay that Loan, whereby many of them contracted such Sicknesses as cost them their Lives. Great Sums of Money requir'd and rais'd by Privy Seals. An unjust and pernicious Attempt to extort great Payments from the subject, by way of Excise; and a Commission issued under Seal to that Purpose. The Petition of Right, which was granted in full Parliament, blasted with an illegal Declaration, to make it destructive to itself, to the Power of Parliament, to the Liberty of the Subject, and to that Purpose printed with it; and the Petition made of no use, but to shew the bold and presumptuous Injustice of such Ministers as durst break the Laws, and suppress the Liberties of the Kingdom, after they had been so solemnly and evidently declar'd.

Another Parliament dissolv'd, 4 *Car.* The Privilege of Parliament broken by imprisoning divers Members of the House, detaining them Close Prisoners for many Months together, without the Liberty of using Books, Pen, Ink, or Paper; denying them all the Comforts of Life, all Means of Preservation of Health; not permitting their Wives to come unto them, even in Time of their Sickness. And for the compleating of that Cruelty, after Years spent in such miserable Durance, depriving them of the necessary Means of Spiritual Consolation, not suffering them to go abroad to enjoy God's Ordinances in God's House, or God's Ministers to come to them, to administer Comfort unto them in their private Chambers; and to keep them still in this oppress'd Condition, not admitting

admitting them to be bail'd according to Law, yet vexing them with Informations in Inferior Courts, sentencing and fining some of them for Matters done in Parliament, and extorting the Payments of those Fines from them; enforcing others to put in Security of good Behaviour, before they could be releas'd.

The Imprisonment of the rest which refus'd to be bound, still continu'd; which might have been perpetual, if Necessity had not the last Year brought another Parliament to relieve them; of whom one dy'd, by the Cruelty and Harshness of his Imprisonment, which would admit of no Relaxation, notwithstanding the imminent Danger of his Life, did sufficiently appear by the Declaration of his Physician; And his Release, or at least his Refreshment, was sought by many humble Petitions; and his Blood still cries either for Vengeance, or Repentance of those Ministers of State, who have at once obstructed the Course both of his Majesty's Justice and Mercy.

Upon the Dissolution of both these Parliaments, untrue and scandalous Declarations publish'd, to asperse their Proceedings, and some of their Members, unjustly; to make them odious, and colour the Violence which was us'd against them. Proclamations set out to the same purpose; and to the great dejecting of the Hearts of the People, forbidding them even to speak of Parliaments.

After the breach of Parliament, in the fourth Year of his Majesty, Injustice, Oppression, and Violence broke in upon us, without any Restraint or Moderation; and yet the first Project was the great Sums exacted through the whole Kingdom, for default of Knighthood, which seem'd to have some Colour and Shadow of a Law; yet if it be rightly examin'd by that obsolete Law, which was pretend- ed for it, it would be found to be against all the Rules of Justice, both in respect of the Persons charg'd, the Pro- portion of the Fines demanded, and the absurd and unrea- sonable Manner of their Proceedings. Tunnage and Poundage

Poundage hath been receiv'd without Colour or Pretence of Laws; many other heavy Impositions continu'd against Law; and some so unreasonable, that the Sum of the Charge exceeds the Value of the Goods. The Book of Rates lately inhaunc'd to a high Proportion, and such Merchants as would not submit to their illegal and unreasonable Payments, were vex'd and oppress'd above measure; and the ordinary Course of Justice, the common Birth-right of the Subject of *England*, wholly obstructed unto them. And although all this was taken upon pretence of guarding the Sea, yet a new and unheard-of Tax of Ship-money was devis'd, upon the same Pretence. By both which, there was Charg'd upon the Subject near 700000 *l.* some Years; and yet the Merchants have been left so naked to the Violence of the *Turkish* Pirates, that many great Ships of value, and thousands of his Majesty's Subjects have been taken by them, and do still remain in miserable Slavery.

The Enlargement of Forests, contrary to *Charta de Foresta*, and the Composition thereupon, the Exactions of Coat and Conduct-Money, and divers other Military Charges; the taking away the Arms of the Train'd-Bands of divers Counties; the desperate Design of engrossing all the Gunpowder into one hand keeping it in the Tower of *London*, and setting so high a Rate upon it, that the poorer sort were not able to buy it; nor could any have it without License, thereby to leave the several Parts of the Kingdom destitute of their necessary Defence; and by selling so dear that which was sold, to make an unlawfull Advantage of it, to the great Charge and Detriment of the Subject: The general Destruction of the King's Timber, especially that in the Forest of *Dean*, sold to Papists, which was the best Store-house of this Kingdom, for the Maintenance of our Shipping; the taking away of Mens Right, under colour of the King's Title to Land between high and low Water-Marks; the Monopolies of

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Soap, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-Coal, and in a manner, of all Things of most common and necessary Use; the Restraint of the Liberties of the Subjects in their Habitation, Trades, and other Interest; their Vexation and Oppression by Purveyours, Clerks of the Market, and Salt-Peter-Men; the Sale of pretended Neufances, as Buildings in and about *London*, Conversion of Arable into Pasture; continuance of Pasture, under the Name of Depopulation; have drawn many Millions out of the Subjects Purses, without any considerable Profit to his Majesty. Large Quantities of common, and several Grounds, have been taken from the Subject, by colour of the Statute of Improvement, and by Abuse of the Commission of Sewers, without their Consent, and against it. And not only private Interest, but also publick Faith have been broken, in seizing of the Money and Bullion in the Mint; and the whole Kingdom like to be robb'd at once, in that abominable Project of Brass-Money. Great Numbers of his Majesty's Subjects, for refusing those unlawful Charges, have been vex'd with long and expensive Suits; some fin'd and censur'd, others committed to long and hard Imprisonments and Confinements; to the loss of Health of many, of Life in some, and others have had their Houses broken up, their Goods seiz'd; some have been restrain'd from their lawful Callings; Ships have been interrupted in their Voyages, surpriz'd at Sea in a hostile manner by Projectors, as by a common Enemy; Merchants prohibited to unlade their Goods in such Ports as were for their own Advantage, and forc'd to bring them to those Places which were most for the Advantages of the Monopolizers and Projectors. The Court of Star-Chamber hath abounded in extravagant Censures, not only for the Maintenance and Improvement of Monopolies, and other unlawful Taxes, but for divers other Causes, where there had been no Offence, or very small; whereby his Majesty's Subjects have been oppress'd by grievous Fines, Imprisonments

prisonments, Stigmatizings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags, Confinementts, Banishmentts, after so rigid a Manner, as hath not only depriv'd Men of the Society of their Friends, Exercise of their Professions, Comfort of Books, Use of Paper or Ink; but even violated that near Union which God hath establish'd betwixt Men and their Wives, by forc'd and constrain'd Separation, whereby they have been bereav'd of the Comfort and Conversation one of another for many Years together, without hope of Relief, if God had not, by his over-ruling Providence, given some Interruption to the prevailing Power and Counsel of those who were the Authors and Promoters of such perem tory and heady Courties.

Judges have been put out of their Places, for refusing to do against their Oaths and Consciences. Others have been so aw'd, that they durst not do their Duties; and the better to hold a Rod over them, the Clause *Quam diu se bene gesserint* was left out of their Parents, and a new Clause, *Durante bene placito*, inserted. Lawyers have been check'd for being faithful to their Clients; Solicitors and Attornies have been threaten'd, and some punish'd, for following lawful Suits. And by this Means all the Approaches to Justice were interrupted and foreclud-ed. New Oaths have been forc'd upon the Subject against Law; new Judicatories erected without Law. The Council-Table have, by their Orders, offer to bind the Subjects in their Freeholds, Estates, Suits, and Actions. The pretended Court of the Earl-Marshal was arbitrary and illegal in its Being and Proceedings. The Chancery, Exchequer-Chamber, Court of Wards, and other *English* Courts, have been grievous in exceeding their Jurisdiction. The Estate of many Families weaken'd, and some ruin'd, by Excessive Fines, exacted from them for Composition of Wardships. All Leases of above an hundred Years, made to draw on Wardship contrary to Law.

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Undue Proceedings us'd in the finding of Offices, to make, the Jury find for the King. The Common-Law Courts, seeing all Men more inclin'd to seek Justice there, where it may be fitted to their own Desire, are known frequently to forsake the Rules of the Common-Law, and straining beyond their bounds, under pretence of Equity to do Injustice. Titles of Honour, judicial Places, Serjeantships at Law, and other Offices, have been sold for great Sums of Money, whereby the common Justice of the Kingdom hath been much endanger'd, not only by opening a way of Employment in Places of great Trust and Advantage to Men of weak Parts; but also by giving Occasion to Bribery, Extortion, Partiality; it seldom happening, that Places ill-gotten, are well us'd. Commissions have been granted for examining the Excess of Fees, and when great Exactions have been discover'd, Compositions have been made with Delinquents, not only for the time past, but likewise for Immunity and Security in offending for the time to come; which, under colour of Remedy, hath but confirm'd and increas'd the Grievance to the Subject. The usual Course of pricking Sheriffs not observ'd, but many Times Sheriffs made in an extraordinary way, sometimes as a Punishment and Charge unto them, sometimes such were prick'd out, as would be Instruments to execute whatsoever they would have to be done.

The Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy, did triumph in the Suspensions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations of divers painful, learned and pious Ministers, in the Vexation and grievous Oppression of great Numbers of his Majesty's good Subjects. The High Commission grew to such excess of Sharpness and Severity, as was not much less than the Romish Inquisition: and yet in many cases, by the Arch-bishop's Power, was made much more heavy, being assisted and strengthen'd by Authority of the Council-Table.

The Bishops and their Courts were as eager in the Country; and altho' their Jurisdiction could not reach so high in Rigour and Extremity of Punishment, yet were they no less grievous in respect of the Generality and Multiplicity of Vexations; which lighting upon the meaner sort of Tradesmen and Artificers, did impoverish many thousands, and so afflict and trouble others, that great Numbers, to avoid their Miseries, departed out of the Kingdom; some into *New-England*, and other Parts of *America*, others into *Holland*, where they have transported their Manufactures of Cloth: which is not only a Loss, by diminishing the present Stock of the Kingdom, but a great Mischief, by impairing and endangering the Loss of that peculiar Trade of Clothing, which hath been a plentiful Fountain of Wealth and Honour to this Nation. Those were fittest for Ecclesiastical Preferment, and soonest obtain'd it, who were most officious in promoting Superstition, most virulent in railing against Godliness and Honesty.

The most publick and solemn Sermons before his Majesty, were either to advance Prerogative above Law, and decry the Property of the Subject; or full of such Kind of Invectives, whereby they might make those odious, who sought to maintain the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom; and such Men were sure to be weeded out of the Commission of the Peace, and out of all other Employments of Power in the Government of the Country. Many noble Personages were Counsellors in Name, but the Power and Authority remain'd in a few of such as were addicted to this Party; whose Resolutions and Determinations were brought to the Table for Countenance and Execution, and not for Debate and Deliberation; and no Man could offer to oppose them, without Disgrace and Hazard to himself. Nay, all those that did not wholly concur, and actually contribute to the Furtherance of their Designs, tho' otherwise Persons of never so great

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great Honour and Abilities, were so far from being employ'd in any Place of Trust and Power, that they were neglected, discountenanc'd, and upon all Occasions injur'd and oppress'd. This Faction was grown to that height and entireness of Power, that now they began to think of finishing their Work, which consisted of these three Parts.

1. *The Government must be set free from all restraint of Laws concerning our Persons and Estates.*

2. *There must be a Conjunction betwixt Papists and Protestants in Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremonies; only it must not yet be call'd Popery.*

3. *The Puritans, under which Name they include all those that desire to preserve the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and to maintain Religion in the Power of it, must be either rooted out of the Kingdom with force, or driven out with fear. For the effecting of this, it was thought necessary to reduce Scotland to such Superstitions and Innovations as might make them apt to join with England, in the great Change which was intended. Whereupon new Canons and a new Liturgy were press'd upon them; and when they refus'd to admit of them, an Army was rais'd to force them to it; towards which, the Clergy and the Papists were very forward in their contribution. The Scots likewise rais'd an Army for their Defence: And when both Armies were come together, and ready for a bloody Encounter, his Majesty's own gracious Disposition, and the Counsel of the English Nobility, and dutiful Submission of the Scots, did so far prevail against the evil Counsel of others, that a Pacification was made, and his Majesty return'd with Peace and much Honour to London.*

The unexpected Reconciliation was most acceptable to all the Kingdom, except to the malignant Party, whereof the Archbishop, and the Earl of Strafford being Heads, they and their Faction began to inveigh against the Peace, and to aggravate the Proceedings of the States; which so insens'd his Majesty, that he forthwith prepar'd again for

War. And such was their Confidence, that having corrupted and distemper'd the whole Frame and Government of the Kingdom, they did now hope to corrupt that which was the only Means to restore all to a right Frame and Temper again; to which End, they perswaded his Majesty to call a Parliament, not to seek Counsel and Advice of them, but to draw Countenance and Supply from them, and engage the whole Kingdom in their Quarrel: and, in the mean time, continu'd all their unjust Levies of Money; resolving either to make the Parliament pliant to their Will, and to establish Mischief by a Law, or else to break it. And with more Colour to go on by Violence to take what they could not obtain by Consent, the Ground alledg'd for the Justification of this War, was this:

That the undutiful Demands of the Parliament of *Scotland*, was a sufficient Reason for his Majesty to take Arms against them, without hearing the Reason of those Demands. And thereupon a new Army was prepar'd against them; their Ships were seiz'd in all Ports both of *England* and *Ireland*, and at Sea; their Petitioners rejected, their Commissioners refus'd Audience. This whole Kingdom most miserably distemper'd with Levies of Men and Money, and Imprisonments of those who deny'd to submit to those Levies. The Earl of *Strafford* pass'd into *Ireland*, caus'd the Parliament there to declare against the *Scots*; to give four Subsidies towards that War, and to engage themselves, their Lives and Fortunes, for the Prosecution of it; and gave Directions for an Army of 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, to be levy'd there, which were for the most part Papists. The Parliament met upon the 13th of *April*, 1640. The Earl of *Strafford*, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with their Party, so prevail'd with his Majesty, that the House of Commons was press'd to yield to a Supply for Maintenance of the War with *Scotland*, before they had provided any Relief for the great and pressing Grievances

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Grievances of the People; which being against the fundamental Privilege and Proceeding of Parliament, was yet in humble Respect to his Majesty, so far admitted, as that they agreed to take the Matter of Supply into Consideration; and two several Days it was debated. Twelve Subsidies were demanded for the release of Ship-Money alone; a third Day was appointed for Conclusion, when the Heads of that Party begun to fear the People might close with the King in satisfying his desire of Money; but that withal, they were like to blast their malicious Designs against *Scotland*, finding them very much indispos'd to give any countenance to that War.

Thereupon, they wickedly advis'd the King to break off the Parliament, and to return to the ways of Confusion, in which their own evil Intentions were most like to prosper and succeed.

After the Parliament ended, the 5th of *May*, 1640. this Party grew so bold, as to counsel the King to supply himself out of his Subjects Estates, by his own Power, at his own Will, without their Consent. The very next Day, some Members of both Houses had their Studies, and Cabinets, yea, their Pockets search'd. Another of them, not long after, was committed close Prisoner, for not delivering some Petitions which he receiv'd by Authority of that House: And if harsher Courses were intended, (as was reported) it is very probable that the Sickness of the Earl of *Strafford*, and the tumultuous Rising in *Southwark*, and about *Lambeth*, were the Causes that such violent Intentions were not brought to execution. A false and scandalous Declaration against the House of Commons, was publish'd in his Majesty's Name, which yet wrought little effect with the People, but only to manifest the Impudence of those who were Authors of it.

A forc'd Loan of Money was attempted in the City of *London*.

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The Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in their several Wards, enjoin'd to bring in a List of the Names of such Persons as they judg'd fit to lend, and of the Sums they should lend. And such Aldermen as refus'd so to do, were committed to Prison.

The Archbishop, and the other Bishops, and Clergy, continu'd the Convocation, and by a new Commission, turn'd it to a Provincial Synod; in which, by an unheard-of Presumption, they made Canons that contain in them many Matters contrary to the King's Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws and Statutes of the Realm, to the Right of Parliaments, to the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and Matters tending to Sedition, and of dangerous Consequence; thereby establishing their own Usurpations, justifying their Altar-Worship, and those other superstitious Innovations, which they formerly introduc'd, without Warrant of Law.

They impos'd a new Oath upon divers of his Majesty's Subjects, both Ecclesiastical and Lay, for Maintenance of their own Tyranny; and laid a great Tax upon the Clergy for Supply of his Majesty: and generally they shew'd themselves very affectionate to the War with *Scotland*, which was by some of them stil'd *Bellum Episcopale*; and a Prayer compos'd, and enjoin'd to be read in all Churches calling the *Scots* Rebels, to put the two Nations into Blood, and make them irreconcilable. All those pretended Canons and Constitutions were arm'd with the several Censures of Suspension, Excommunication, Deprivation, by which they would have thrust out all the good Ministers, and most of the well effected People of the Kingdom, and left an easy Passage to their own Design of Reconciliation with *Rome*. The Popish Party enjoy'd such Exemptions from the Penal Laws, as amounted to a Toleration, besides many other Encouragements, and Court-Favours. They had a Secretary of State, Sir *Francis Windebank*, a powerful Agent for the speeding of all their Desires; a

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Pope's Nuncio residing here to act and govern them according to such Influences as he receiv'd from *Rome*, and to intercede for them with the most powerful Concurrence of the foreign Princes of that Religion. By his Authority the Papists of all Sorts, Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, were convocated after the Manner of a Parliament; new Jurisdictions were erected of Romish Archbishops; Taxes levy'd, another State moulded within this State, independent in Government, contrary in Interest and Affection, secretly corrupting the ignorant or negligent Professors of our Religion, and closely uniting and combining themselves against such as were found; in this Posture waiting for an Opportunity by Force to destroy those whom they could not hope to seduce. For the effecting whereof, they were strengthen'd with Arms and Munition, encourag'd with superstitious Prayers, enjoin'd by the Nuncio to be weekly made, for the Prosperity of some great Design. And such Power had they at Court, that secretly a commission was issu'd out, intended to be issu'd to some Great Men of that Profession, for the levying of Soldiers, and to command and employ them according to private Instructions, which we doubt were fram'd for the Advantage of those who were the Contrivers of them. His Majesty's Treasure was consum'd, his Revenue anticipated; his Servants and Officers compell'd to lend great Sums of Money: Multitudes were call'd to the Council-Table, who were tri'd with long Attendance there, for refusing illegal Payments. The Prisoners were fill'd with their Commitments: many of the Sheriffs summon'd into the Star-Chamber, and some imprison'd, for not being quick enough in levying Ship-Money; the People languish'd under Grief and Fear; no visible Hope being left, but in Desperation. The Nobility began to be weary of their Silence and Patience, and sensible of the Duty and Trust which belongs to them; and thereupon some of the the most eminent of them did petition

petition his Majesty, at such a Time when evil Counsels were so strong, that they had Reason to expect more hazard to themselves, than redress of those publick Evils for which they interceded. Whilst the Kingdom was in this Agitation and Distemper, the *Scots* restrain'd in their Trades, impoverish'd by the Loss of many of their Ships, bereav'd of all Possibility of satisfying his Majesty by any naked Supplication, enter'd with a powerful Army into the Kingdom; and without any hostile Act or Spoil in the Country as they pass'd, more than forcing a Passage over the *Tyne* at *Newborne*, near *Newcastle*, possess'd themselves of *Newcastle*, and had a fair Opportunity to press no farther upon the King's Army: but Duty and Reverence to his Majesty, and brotherly Love to the *English* Nation, made them stay there; whereby the King had leisure to entertain better Counsels; wherein God so bless'd and directed him, that he summon'd the great Council of Peers to meet at *York*, upon the 24th of *September*, and there declar'd a Parliament to begin the third of *November* then following. The *Scots*, the first Day of the Great Council, presented an humble Petition to his Majesty, whereupon the Treaty was appointed at *Rippon*; a present Cessation of Arms agreed upon, and the full Conclusion of all Differences referr'd to the Wisdom and Care of the Parliament. At our first Meeting, all Oppositions seem'd to vanish; the Mischiefs were so evident, which those evil Counsellors produc'd, that no Man durst stand up to defend them. Yet the Work it self afforded Difficulty enough. The multiply'd Evils and Corruption of sixteen Years, strengthen'd by Custom and Authority, and the concurrent Interest of many powerful Delinquents, were now to be brought to Judgment and Reformation. The Kings Household was to be provided for; they had brought him to that Want, that he could not supply his ordinary and necessary Expences, without the Assistance of his People. Two Armies were

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to be pay'd, which amounted very near to eighty thousand Pounds a Month; the People were to be tenderly charg'd, having been formerly exhausted with many burdensome Projects.

The Difficulties seem'd to be insuperable, which by the Divine Providence we have overcome. The Contrarieties incompatible, which yet in a great Measure we have reconcil'd. Six Subsidies have been granted, and a Bill of Poll-Money: which, if it be duly levy'd, may equal six Subsidies more; in all, six hundred thousand Pounds. Besides, we had contracted a Debt to the *Scots*, of two hundred and twenty thousand Pounds; and yet God had so bless'd the Endeavours of this Parliament, that the Kingdom is a great Gainer by all these Charges. The Ship-Money is abolish'd, which cost the Kingdom above two hundred thousand Pounds a Year. The Coat and Conduct-Money, and other Military Charges, are taken away, which in many Counties amounted to little less than the Ship-Money. The Monopolies are all suppress'd, whereof some few did prejudice the Subject above a Million yearly: The Soap, an hundred thousand Pounds; the Wine three hundred thousand pounds; the Leather must needs exceed both; and Salt could be no less than that; besides the inferior Monopolies, which, if they could be exactly computed, would make up a great Sum. That which is more beneficial than all is, that the Root of these Evils is taken away, which was the arbitrary Power pretended to be in his Majesty, of taxing the subject, or charging their Estates without Consent in Parliament; which is now declar'd to be against Law, by the Judgement of both Houses, and likewise by an Act of Parliament. Another Step of great Advantage is this; The living Grievances of the evil Councillors and Actors of these Mischiefs, have been so quell'd by the Justice done upon the Earl of *Strafford*, the Flight of the Lord *Finch*, and Secretary *Windeband*, the Accusation and Imprisonment of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of Judge

Bartlet, and the Impeachment of divers other Bishops and Judges, that it is like not only to be an Ease to the present Times, but a Preservation to the future. The Discontinuance of Parliaments, is prevented by the Bill for a Triennial Parliament; by another Bill, by which it is provided; it shall not be dissolv'd or adjourn'd, without the Consent of both Houses.

Which two Laws, well consider'd, may be thought more advantageous than all the former, because they secure a full Operation of the present Remedy, and afford a perpetual Spring of Remedies for the future. The Star-Chamber, the High Commission, the Courts of the President and Council in the *North*, were so many Forges of Misery, Oppression, and Violence, and are all taken away; whereby Men are more secur'd in their Persons, Liberties, and Estates, than they could be by any Law or Example for the Regulation of those Courts, or Terror of the Judges. The immoderate Power of the Council-Table, and the excessive Abuse of that Power, is so order'd and restrain'd, that we may well hope that no such Things as were frequently done by them, to the prejudice of the publick Liberty, will appear in future Times, but only in Stories, to give us and our Posterity more occasion to praise God for his Majesty's Goodness, and the faithful Endeavours of the Parliament. The Canons, and the Power of Canon-making, are blasted by the Vote of both Houses. The exorbitant Power of Bishops, and their Courts, are much abated, by some Provisions in the Bill against the High-Commission Court. The Authors of the many Innovations in Doctrine and Ceremonies, the Ministers that have been scandalous in their Lives, have been so terrify'd in just Complaints and Accusations, that we may well hope they will be more modest for the time to come; either inwardly convicted by the Sight of their own Folly, or outwardly restrain'd by the Fear of Punishment. The Forests are by a good Law reduc'd to their

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right Bounds; the Encroachments and Oppressions of the Stannery-Courts, the Extortions of the Clerk of the Market, and the Compulsion of the Subject to receive the Order of Knighthood against his Will, paying of Fines for not receiving it, and the vexatious Proceedings thereupon for levying of those Fines, are by other beneficial Laws reform'd and prevented. Many excellent Laws and provisions are in preparation, for removing the inordinate Power, Vexation, and Usurpation of Bishops, for reforming the Pride and Idleness of many of the Clergy, for easing the People of unnecessary Ceremonies in Religion, for censuring and removing unworthy and unprofitable Ministers, and for maintaining godly and diligent Preachers through the Kingdom. Other Things of main Importance for the Good of this Kingdom, are in proposition; though little could hitherto be done, in regard of the many other more pressing Businesses, which yet, before the end of this Session, we hope may receive some Progress and Perfection. The establishing and ordering the King's Revenue, that so the abuse of Officers, and Superfluity of Expences, may be cut off, and the necessary Disbursements for his Majesty's Honour, the Defence and Government of the Kingdom, may be more certainly provided for. The regulating of Courts of Justice, and abridging both the Delays and Charges of Law-Suits; the settling of some good Courses for preventing the Exportation of Gold and Silver, and the Inequality of Exchanges betwixt us and other Nations, for the advancing of native Commodities, increase of our Manufacture, and well ballancing of Trade, whereby the Stock of the Kingdom may be increas'd, or at least kept from impairing, as through Neglect hereof it hath done for many Years last past; for improving the Herring-Fishing upon our own Coasts, which will be of mighty use in the Employment of the Poor, and a plentiful Nursery of Mariners, for enabling the Kingdom in any great Action. The Opposi-

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tions, Obstructions, and other Difficulties wherewith we have been encounter'd, and which still lie in our way with some Strength, and much Obstinacy, are these: The malignant Party whom we have formerly describ'd to be the Actors and Promoters of all our Misery, they have taken heart again. They have been able to prefer some of their own Factors and Agents to Degrees of Honour, to Places of Trust and Employment, even during the Parliament. They have endeavour'd to work in his Majesty ill Impressions and Opinions of our Proceedings, as if we had altogether done our own Work, and not his; and had obtain'd from him many Things very prejudicial to the Crown, both in respect of Prerogative and Profit. To wipe out this Slander, we think good only to say thus much, That all that we have done, is for his Majesty, his Greatness, Honour, and Support. When we yielded to give twenty five thousand Pounds a Month for the Relief of the Northern Counties, this was given to the King; for he was bound to protect his Subjects. They were his Majesty's evil Counsellors, and their ill Instruments that were Actors in those Grievances which brought in the *Scots*. And if his Majesty please to force those who were the Authors of this War, to make Satisfaction, as he might justly and easily do, it seems very reasonable, that the People might well be excus'd from taking upon them this Burden, being altogether innocent and free from being any Causes of it.

When we undertook the Charge of the Army, which cost above 50,000 *l.* a Month, was not this given to the King? Was it not his Majesty's Army? Were not all the Commanders under Contract with his Majesty at higher Rates and greater Wages than ordinary? And have not we taken upon us to discharge all the Brotherly Assistance of three hundred thousand Pounds which we give the *Scots*? Was it not toward Repair of those Damages and Losses which they receiv'd from the King's Ships, and

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and from his Ministers? These three Particulars amount to above eleven hundred thousand Pounds. Besides, his Majesty hath receiv'd by Impositions upon Merchandize, at least four hundred thousand Pounds; so that his Majesty hath had out of the Subject's Purse, since the Parliament began, one Million and an half; and yet these Men can be so impudent, as to tell his Majesty, that we have done nothing for him. As to the second Branch of this Slander, we acknowledge, with much Thankfulness, that his Majesty hath pass'd more good Bills to the Advantage of the Subjects, than have been in many Ages; but withal we cannot forget, that these venomous Counsels did manifest themselves in some Endeavours to hinder these good Acts: and for both Houses of Parliament, we may with Truth and Modesty say thus much, That we have ever been careful not to desire any Thing that should weaken the Crown, either in just Profit, or useful Power. The Triennial Parliament, for the Matter of it, doth not extend to so much as by Law we ought to have requir'd, there being two Statutes still in Force for a Parliament to be once a Year; and for the Manner of it, it is in the King's Power, that it shall never take effect, if he by a timely Summons shall prevent any other way of assembling. In the Bill for Continuance of this present Parliament, there seems to be some Restraint of the Royal Power in dissolving of Parliaments, not to take it out of the Crown, but to suspend the Execution of it for this Time and Occasion only; which was so necessary for the King's own Security, and the publick Peace, that without it we could not have undertaken any of these great Charges, but must have left both the Armies to Disorder and Confusion, and the whole Kingdom to Blood and Rapine. The Star-Chamber was much more fruitful in Oppression than in Profit, the great Fines being for the most part given away, and the rest stall'd at long Times. The Fines of the High Commission were in themselves

themselves unjust, and seldom or never came into the King's Purse. These four Bills are particular and more specially instanc'd; in the rest, there will not be found so much as a Shadow of Prejudice to the Crown. They have sought to diminish our Reputation with the People, and to bring them out of love with Parliaments; the Aspersions which they have attempted this way, have been such as these: That we have spent much Time, and done little, especially in those Grievances which concern Religion. That the Parliament is a Burden to the Kingdom, by the abundance of Protections, which hinder Justice and Trade; and by many Subsidies granted, much more heavy than any they formerly endur'd. To which there is a ready answer; If the Time spent in this Parliament be consider'd in relation backward, to the long Growth and deep Root of those Grievances, which we have remov'd, to the powerful Supports of those Delinquents which we have pursu'd, to the great Necessities and other Charges of the Commonwealth, for which we have provided: Or, if it be consider'd in relation forward, to the many Advantages, which not only the present, but future Ages are like to reap by the good Laws and other Proceedings in this Parliament; we doubt not but it will be thought by all indifferent Judgments, that our Time hath been much better employ'd than a far greater Proportion of Time in many former Parliaments put together; and the Charges which have been laid upon the Subject, and the other Inconveniencies which they have born, will seem very light in respect of the benefit they have and may receive. And for the matter of Protections, the Parliament is so sensible of it, that therein they intend to give them whatsoever ease may stand with Honour and Justice: are in the way of passing a Bill to give them Satisfaction. They have sought by many subtle Practices, to cause Jealousies and Divisions betwixt us and our Brethren of Scotland, by slandering their

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their Proceedings and Intentions towards us, and by secret Endeavours to instigate and incense them and us one against another. They have had such a Party of Bishops and Popish Lords in the House of Peers, as hath caused much Opposition and delay in the prosecution of Delinquents, hindred the proceeding of divers good Bills passed in the Commons House, concerning the Reformation of sundry great Abuses and Corruptions both in Church and State. They have laboured to seduce and corrupt some of the Commons House, to draw them into Conspiracies and Combinations against the Liberty of the Parliament: And by their Instruments and Agents they have attempted to disaffect and discontent his Majesty's Army, and to engage it for the maintenance of their wicked and traitorous Designs, the keeping up of Bishops in Votes and Functions, and by force to compel the Parliament to order, limit and dispose their Proceedings in such Manner as might best concur with the Intentions of this dangerous and potent Faction: And when one mischievous Design and Attempt of theirs to bring on the Army against the Parliament, and the City of *London*, have been discovered and prevented, they presently undertook another of the same damnable Nature, with this Addition to it, to endeavour to make the *Scottish* Army neutral, whilst the *English* Army which they had laboured to corrupt and invenom against us by their false and slanderous Suggestions, should execute their Malice to the subversion of our Religion, and the Dissolution of our Government. Thus they have been continually practising to disturb the Peace, and plotting the Destruction even of all the King's Dominions, and have employed their Emisaries and Agents in them all, for the promoting of their devilish Designs; which the Vigilancy of those who were well effected hath still discovered and defeated, before they were ripe for Execution in *England* and *Scotland*: only in *Ireland* which was farther off, they have had

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Time and Opportunity to mould and prepare their work, and had brought it to that Perfection, that they had possessed themselves of that whole Kingdom, totally subverted the Government of it, rooted out Religion, and destroyed all the Protestants, whom the Conscience of their Duty to God, their King and Country would not have permitted to join with them, if by God's wonderful Providence their main Enterprize upon the City and Castle of *Dublin*, had not been detected and prevented upon the very Eve before it should have been executed. Notwithstanding, they have in other Parts of that Kingdom broken out into open Rebellion, surpriz'd Towns and Castles, committed Murders, Rapes, and other Villanies, and shaken off all Bonds of Obedience to his Majesty, and the Laws of the Realm; and in general have kindled such a Fire, as nothing but God's infinite Blessing upon the Wisdom and Endeavours of this State will be able to quench it: And certainly had not God in his great Mercy unto this Land discover'd and confounded their former Designs, we had been the Prologue to this Tragedy in *Ireland*, and had by this Time been made the lamentable Spectacle of Misery and Confusion. And now what hope have we but in God; whenas the only Means of our Subsistence, and Power of Reformation, is under him, in the Parliament. But what can we the Commons do without the Conjunction of the House of Lords? and what Conjunction can we expect there, when the Bishops and recusant Lords are so numerous and prevalent, that they are able to cross and interrupt our best endeavours for Reformation, and by that Means give Advantage to this malignant Party to traduce our Proceedings? They infuse into the People, that we mean to abolish all Church-Government, and leave every Man to his own Fancy for the Service and Worship of God, absolving him of that Obedience which he owes under God unto his Majesty, whom we know to be intrusted with the Ecclesiastical Law as well as with the Temporal,

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Temporal, to regulate all the Members of the Church of England by such Rules of Order and Discipline as are establish'd by Parliament, which is his great Council in all Affairs both in Church and State. We confess our Intention is, and our Endeavours have been, to reduce within Bounds that exorbitant Power which the Prelates have assumed unto themselves, so contrary both to the Word of God and to the Laws of the Land; to which end we pass the Bill for the removing them from their Temporal Power and Employments, that so the better they might with Meekness apply themselves to the discharge of their Functions: which Bill themselves opposed, and were the principal Instruments of crossing it.

And we do here declare, That it is far from our purpose or desire to let loose the golden Reins of Discipline, and Government in the Church, to leave private Persons or particular Congregations to take up what Form of Divine Service they please; for we hold it requisite that there should be throughout the whole Realm, a conformity to that Order which the Laws enjoin, according to the Word of God: and we desire to unburden the Consciences of Men, of needless and superstitious Ceremonies, suppress Innovations, and take away the Monuments of Idolatry. And the better to effect the intended Reformation, we desire there may be a general Synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious Divines of this Island, assisted with some from foreign Parts professing the same Religion with us; who may consider of all Things necessary for the Peace and good Government of the Church, and represent the results of their Consultations unto the Parliament, to be there allowed of and confirmed, and receive the stamp of Authority, thereby to find Passage and Obedience throughout the Kingdom. They have maliciously charged us that we intend to destroy and discourage Learning; whereas it is our chiefest care and desire to advance it, and to provide a competent maintenance for

conscionable and preaching Ministers throughout the Kingdom: which will be a great Encouragement to Scholars, and a certain Means whereby the Want, Meanness, and Ignorance, to which a great part of the Clergy is now subject, will be prevented. And we intend likewise to reform, and purge the Fountains of Learning, the two Universities, that the Streams flowing from thence may be clear and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole Land. They have strained to blast our Proceedings in Parliament, by wresting the Interpretations of our Orders from their genuine Intention. They tell the People that our meddling with the Power of Episcopacy, hath caused Sectaries and Conventicles; when Idolatry and Popish Ceremonies introduc'd into the Church by the command of the Bishops, have not only debarr'd the People from thence, but expell'd them from the Kindom. Thus with *Elijah* we are call'd by this malignant Party the Troublers of the State; and still while we endeavour to reform their Abuses, they make us the Authors of those mischiefs we study to prevent. For the perfecting of the work begun, and removing all future Impediments, we conceive these Courses will be very effectual; seeing the Religion of the Papists hath such Principles, as do certainly tend to the Destruction and Extirpation of all Protestants when they shall have Opportunity to effect it.

It is necessary in the first Place to keep them in such condition, as that they may not be able to do us any hurt; and for avoiding of such connivance and favour as hath heretofore been shewed unto them, that his Majesty be pleased to grant a standing Commission to some choice Men named in Parliament, who may take notice of their Increase, their Counsels and Proceedings; and use all due Means by Execution of the Laws, to prevent any mischievous Designs against the Peace and Safety of this Kingdom. That some good course be taken to discover the counterfeit and false Conformity of Papists to the Church;

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Church; by colour whereof Persons very much disaffected to the true Religion have been admitted into Places of greatest Authority and Trust in the Kingdom.

For the better Preservation of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, that all illegal Grievances and Exactions be presented and punished at the Sessions, and Assizes; and that Judges and Justices be careful to give this in Charge to the Grand Jury, and both the Sheriff and Justices to be sworn to the due Execution of the Petition of Right and other Laws: That his Majesty be humbly petitioned by both Houses to employ such Councillors, Ambassadors, and other Ministers, in magnaging his business at home and abroad, as the Parliament may have cause to confide in; without which we cannot give his Majesty such Supplies for support of his own Estate, nor such assistance to the Protestant Party beyond the Sea, as is desired. It may often fall out that the Commons may have just cause to take Exceptions at some Men for being Councillors, and yet not charge those Men with Crimes, for there be grounds of diffidence which lie not in proof; there are others, which tho' they may be proved, yet are not legally criminal. To be a known favourer of Papists, or to have been very forward in defending or countenancing some great Offenders questioned in Parliament; or to speak contemptuously of either House of Parliament, or Parliamentary Proceedings; or such as are Factors or Agents for any foreign Prince of another Religion; such as are justly suspected to get Councillors Places, or any other of Trust concerning publick Employments, for Money: For all these and divers others we may have great reason to be earnest with his Majesty not to put his great Affairs into such Hands, tho' we may be unwilling to proceed against them in any legal way of Charge or Impeachment. That all Councillors of State may be sworn to observe those Laws which concern the Subject in his Liberty; that they may likewise take an Oath not to receive or give Reward or Pension from any foreign Prince.

but such as they within some reasonable Time discover to the Lords of his Majesty's Council : And altho' they should wickedly forswear themselves, yet it may herein do good to make them known to be false and perjur'd to those who employ them, and thereby bring them into as little Credit with them as with us. That his Majesty may have cause to be in love with good Counsel and good Men, by shewing him in an humble and dutiful Manner, how full of Advantage it would be to himself, to see his own Estate settled in a plentiful condition to support his Honour, to see his People united in Ways of Duty to him, and endeavours of the publick Good; to see Happiness, Wealth, Peace and Safety derived to his Kingdom, and procured to his Allies, by the Influence of his own Power and Government. That all good Courses may be taken to unite the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, to be mutually aiding and assisting one another for the common good of the Island, and honour of both. To take away all Differences amongst our selves for matters indifferent in their own Nature concerning Religion, and to unite our selves against the common Enemies; which are the better enabled by our Divisions to Destroy us all, as they hope and have often endeavoured. To labour by all Offices of Friendship to unite the foreign Churches with us in the same Cause, and to seek their Liberty, Safety, and Prosperity, as bound thereunto both by Charity to them, and by Wisdom for our own good. For by this Means our own strength shall be increased, and by a mutual Concurrence to the same common End, we shall be enabled to procure the Good of the whole Body of the Protestant Profession. If these Things may be observed, we doubt not but God will crown this Parliament with such Success, as shall be the beginning and foundation of more Honour and Happiness to his Majesty, than ever yet was enjoyed by any of his Royal Predecessors.

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His Majesty's Answer to the Petition which accompanied the Declaration presented to him at *Hampton-Court*, Dec. 1. 1641.

WE having received from you soon after our return out of *Scotland*, a long Petition, consisting of many Desires of a great Moment; together with a Declaration of a very unusual Nature annexed thereunto: We had taken some Time to consider of it, as befitted us in a matter of that Consequence; being confident, that your own reason and regard to us, as well as our express intimation by our Comptroller to that Purpose, would have restrained you from the publishing of it, till such time as you should have received our Answer to it: But, much against our Expectation, finding the contrary, that the said Declaration is already abroad in Print, by Directions from your House, as appears by the printed Copy: We must let you know, that we are very sensible of the disrespect. Notwithstanding, it is our Intention, that no failing on your part, shall make us fail in ours, of giving all due Satisfaction to the desires of our People in a Parliamentary way; and therefore we send you this answer to your Petition, reserving our self in point of the Declaration, which we think unparliamentary, and shall take a Course to do that which we shall think fit in Prudence and Honour.

To the Petition we say, that altho' there are divers Things in the preamble of it which we are so far from admitting that we profess we cannot at all understand them: as, *Of a wicked and malignant Party prevalent in the Government; Of some of that Party admitted to our Privy Council, and to other Employments of Trust, and nearest to us and our Children; Of Endeavours to sow among the People false Scandals and Imputations, to blemish and disgrace the Proceedings of the Parliament.* All or any of which, did we know

know of, we should be as ready to remedy and punish, as you to complain of. That the Prayers of your Petition are grounded upon such Premisses, as we must in no wise admit; yet not withstanding, we are pleased to give this Answer to you.

To the first, concerning Religion consisting of several Branches, we say, That for the preserving the Peace and Safety of this Kingdom from the Designs of the Popish Party, we have, and will still concur with all the just Desires of our People in a Parliamentary Way. That for the depriving of the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, We would have you consider, That their Right is grounded upon the fundamental Law of the Kingdom, and Constitution of Parliament. This we would have you consider; but since you desire our Concurrence herein in a Parliamentary way, we will give no further Answer at this Time.

As for the abridging of the inordinate Power of the Clergy, we conceive that the taking away of the High-Commission Court hath well moderated that; but if there continue any Usurpations, or Excesses in their Jurisdictions, we therein neither have nor will protect them.

Unto that Clause which concerneth Corruptions (as you stile them) in Religion, in Church-Government, and in Discipline, and the removing of such unnecessary Ceremonies as weak Consciences might cheque at: That for any illegal Innovations, which may have crept in, we shall willingly concur in the removal of them. That if our Parliament shall advise us to call a National Synod, which may duly examine such Ceremonies as give just cause of Offence to any, we shall take it into Consideration, and apply our self to give due Satisfaction therein. But we are very sorry to hear in such general Terms, Corruption in Religion objected, since we are persuaded in our Conscience that no Church can be found upon the Earth that professeth the true Religion with more Purity

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of Doctrine than the Church of *England* doth, nor where the Government and Discipline are jointly more beautified, and free from Superstition, than as they are here established by Law; which (by the grace of God) we will with constancy maintain (while we live) in their Purity and Glory, not only against all Invasions of Popery, but also from the Irreverence of those many Schismatics and Separatists, wherewith of late this Kingdom and this City abounds, to the great dishonour and hazard both of Church and State, for the Suppression of whom, we require your timely Aid and active Assistance.

To the second Prayer of the Petition, concerning the removal and choice of Councillors, we know not any of our Council to whom the Character set forth in the Petition can belong. That by those whom we had exposed to tryal, we have already given you sufficient Testimony that there is no Man so near unto us in Place or Affection, whom we will not leave to the Justice of the Law, if you shall bring a particular Charge, and sufficient Proofs against him; and of this we do again assure you: but in the mean Time we wish you to forbear such general Aspersions as may reflect upon all our Council, since you name none in particular.

That for the choice of our Councillors and Ministers of State, it were to debar us that natural Liberty all Free-men have; and as it is the undoubted Right of the Crown of *England*, to call such Persons to our secret Councils, to publick Employment, and our particular Service, as we shall think fit; so we are, and ever shall be very careful to make Election of such Persons in those Places of Trust, as shall have given good Testimonies of their Abilities and Integrity, and against whom there can be no just cause of Exception, whereon reasonably to ground a Diffidence: and to choices of this Nature, we assure you that the Meditation of the nearest unto us hath always concurred.

To

To the third Prayer of your Petition concerning *Ireland*, we understand your desire of not alienating the forfeited Lands thereof, to proceed from your much Care and Love; and likewise that it may be a Resolution very fit for us to take: but whether it be reasonable to declare Resolutions of that nature before the Events of a War be seen, that we much doubt of. Howsoever, we cannot but thank you for this care, and your chearful engagement for the Suppression of that Rebellion; upon the speedy effecting whereof, the Glory of God in the Protestant Profession, the Safety of the *British* there, our Honour, and that of the Nation, so much depends: and all the Interests of this Kingdom being so involved in that business, we cannot but quicken your Affections therein and shall desire you to frame your Counsels, and to give such expedition to the Work, as the nature thereof, and the pressures in point of time require, and whereof you are put in mind by the daily Insolence and Increase of those Rebels.

For conclusion, your promise to apply your selves to such Courses as may support our Royal Estate with Honour and Plenty at home, and with Power and Reputation abroad, is that which we have ever promised our self, both from your Loyalties and Affections; and also for what we have already done, and shall daily go adding unto for the comfort and happiness of our People.

His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects.
Published with the Advice of his Privy-Council.

ALthough we do not believe that our House of Commons intended, by their Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, to put us to any Apology either for our past or present Actions; notwithstanding, since they have thought it so very necessary (upon their Observation of
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the present Distemper) to publish the same, for the Satisfaction of all our loving Subjects, we have thought it very suitable to the Duty of our place (with which God had trusted us) to do our part to so good a work : in which we shall not think it below our Kingly Dignity to descend to any particular, which may compose and settle the Affections of our meanest Subjects ; since we are so conscious to our self of such upright Intentions and Endeavours, and only of such (for which we give God Thanks) for the Peace and Happiness of our Kingdom, in which the Prosperity of our Subjects must be included, that we wish from our heart, that even our most secret Thoughts were published to their View and Examination. Though we must confess we cannot but be very sorry in this Conjunction of time (when the unhappiness of this Kingdom is so generally understood abroad) there shall be such a necessity of publishing so many Particulars, from which we pray, no Inconveniences may ensue that were not intended.

We shall in few Words pass over that Part of the Narrative, wherein the Misfortunes of this Kingdom from our first entring to the Crown, to the beginning of this Parliament, are remembred in so sensible Expressions ; and that other which acknowledgeth the many good Laws passed by our Grace and Favour this Parliament for the Security of our People ; of which we shall only say thus much, that as we have not refused to pass any Bill presented to us by our Parliament, for redress of those Grievances mentioned in the Remonstrance, so we have not had a greater Motive for the passing of those Laws than our own Resolution (grounded upon our Observation, and understanding the State of our Kingdom) to have freed our Subjects for the future, from those Pressures which were grievous to them, if those Laws had not been propounded ; which therefore we shall as inviolably maintain, as we look to have our own Rights preserved : not

doubting but all our loving Subjects will look on those Remedies, with that full Gratitude and Affection, that even the Memory of what they had formerly undergone by the Accidents and Necessities of those Times, will not be unpleasant to them: And possibly in a pious sense of God's Blessing upon this Nation (how little share soever we shall have of the acknowledgment) they will confess they have enjoyed a great Measure of Happiness (even the last sixteen years) both in Peace and Plenty, not only comparatively in respect of their Neighbours, but even of those Times which were justly accounted fortunate.

The Fears and Jealousies which may make some impression in the Minds of our People, we will suppose may be of two sorts: either for Religion, or Liberty, and their Civil Interests. The Fears for Religion may haply be, not only as ours here established may be invaded by the Romish Party, but as it is accompanied with some Ceremonies, at which some tender Consciences really are, or pretend to be scandalized; for of any other which have been used without any legal Warrant or Injunction, and already are, or speedily may be abolished, we shall not speak.

Concerning Religion, as there may be any suspicion of Favour or Inclination to the Papists, we are willing to declare to all the World, that as we have been from our Childhood brought up in, and practised the Religion now establish'd in this Kingdom, so it is well known, we have (not contented simply with the Principles of our Education) given a good proportion of our Time and Pains, to the examination of the grounds of this Religion, as it is different from that of *Rome*; and are from our Soul so fully satisfied and assured that it is the most pure and agreeable to the Sacred Word of God, of any Religion now practised in the Christian World; that as we believe we can maintain the same by unanswerable Reasons, so we hope we should *readily seal to it by the Effusion of our*
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Blood, if it pleas'd God to call us to that Sacrifice. And therefore nothing can be so acceptable unto us, as any Proposition which may contribute to the Advancement of it here, or the Propagation of it abroad; being the only Means to draw down a Blessing from God upon our selves and this Nation. And we have been extremely unfortunate, if this Profession of ours be wanting to our People: our constant Practice in our own Person, having always been (without Ostentation) as much to the Evidence of our Care and Duty herein, as we could possibly tell how to express.

For Differences amongst ourselves, for matters indifferent in their own nature concerning Religion, we shall, in tenderness to any number of our loving Subjects, very willingly comply with the Advice of our Parliament; that some Law may be made for the Exemptions of tender Consciences from punishment, or prosecution for such Ceremonies, and in such Cases, which by the Judgment of most Men, are held to be Matters indifferent, and of some to be absolutely unlawful. Provided, that this Ease be attempted, and pursu'd with that modesty, temper and submission, that in the mean time the peace and quiet of the Kingdom be not disturbed, the decency and comeliness of God's Service discountenanc'd, nor the pious, sober, and devout Actions of those Reverend Persons, who were the first favourers in the blessed Reformation, or of that time, be scandaliz'd and defamed. For we cannot without grief of heart, and without some tax upon our Self, and our Ministers, for the not execution of our Laws, look upon the bold License of some Men, in printing of Pamphlets, in preaching and printing of Sermons, so full of bitterness and malice against the present Government, against the Laws established; so full of Sedition against our Self, and the Peace of the Kingdom; that we are many Times amazed to consider by what Eyes these Things are seen, and by what Ears they are heard: And therefore

we have good cause to command, as we have done, and hereby do, all our Judges and Ministers of Justice, our Attorney and Solicitor General, and the rest of our learned Council, to proceed with all speed against such, and their Abettors, who either by writing, or words, have so boldly and maliciously violated the Laws, disturbed the Peace of the Common-wealth; and as much as in them lies, shaken the very Foundation upon which the Peace and Happiness is founded and constituted. And we doubt not but all our loving Subjects will be very sensible that this busy virulent demeanour is a fit Prologue to nothing but Confusion; and if not very seasonably punished and prevented, will not only be a blemish to that wholesome Accommodation we intend, but an unspeakable Scandal and Imputation, even upon the Profession and Religion of this our Kingdom of *England*.

Concerning the Civil Liberties and Interests of our Subjects, we shall need to say the less, having erected so many lasting Monuments of our Princely and Fatherly Care of our People, in those many excellent Laws passed by us this Parliament, which in Truth (with very much content to our Self) we conceive to be so large and ample, that very many sober Men have very little to wish for.

We understood well the Right, and pretences of Right, we departed from, in the consenting to the Bills of the Triennial Parliament, for the continuance of this present Parliament, and in the preamble to the Bill of Tunnage and Poundage; the matter of which having begot so many Disturbances in late Parliaments, we are willing to remove, that no Interest of ours might hereafter break that Correspondence: abundantly contenting our Self with an Assurance (which we still have) that we should be repaired and supplied by a just proportion of Confidence, Bounty and Obedience of our People. In the Bills for the taking away the High-Commission, and

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Star-Chamber Courts, we believed we had given that real Satisfaction, that all Jealousies and Apprehensions of Arbitrary Pressures under the Civil or Ecclesiastical State, would easily have been abandoned, especially when they saw all possible Doubts secured by the Visitation of a trinennial Parliament.

These, and others of no mean Consideration, we had rather should be valued in the Hearts and Affections of our People, than in any mention of our own; not doubting, but as we have taken all these Occasions to render their Condition most comfortable and happy, so they will always in a grateful and dutiful Relation, be ready with equal Tendernefs and Alacrity, to advance our Rights, and preserve our Honour, upon which their own Security and Subsistence so much depends. And we will be so careful, that no particular shall be presented unto us for the compleating and establishing that Security to which we will not with the same Readiness contribute our best Assistance.

If these Resolutions be the Effects of our present Councils, (and we take God to witness that they are such, and that all our loving Subjects may confidently expect the benefit of them from us) certainly no ill Design upon the Publick can accompany such Resolutions; neither will there be greater cause of Suspicion of any Persons preferred by us to degrees of Honour, and Places of Trust and Employment since this Parliament. And we must confess, that among our Misfortunes, we reckon it not the least, that having not retained in our Service, nor protected any one Person, against whom our Parliament hath excepted during the whole sitting of it, and having in all that Time scarce vouchsafed to any Man an instance of our Grace and Favour, but to such who were under such eminent Characters of Estimation amongst our People; there should so soon be any misunderstanding or jealousy of their fidelity and uprightness; especially in a Time
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when we take all occasions to declare, That we conceive our self only capable of being served by honest Men, and in honest Ways. However, if in Truth we have been mistaken in such our Election, the particular shall be no sooner discovered to us, either by our own Observation, or other certain Information, than we will leave them to publick Justice under the marks of our Displeasure.

If notwithstanding this, any malignant Party shall take heart, and be willing to sacrifice the Peace and Happiness of their Country to their own sinister Ends and Ambitions, under what pretence of Religion and Conscience soever; if they shall endeavour to lessen our Reputation and Interest, and to weaken our lawful Power and Authority with our good Subjects: If they shall go about, by discountenancing the present Laws, to loosen the Bonds of Government, that all Disorder and Confusion may break in upon us; we doubt not but God in his good time will discover them unto us, and the Wisdom and Courage of our High Court of Parliament join with us in their Suppression and Punishment.

Having now said all that we can to express the clearness and uprightness of our Intentions to our People, and done all we can to manifest those Intentions; we cannot but confidently believe all our good Subjects will acknowledge our part to be fully performed, both in Deeds past, and present Resolutions, to do whatsoever with Justice may be requir'd of us; and that their quiet and prosperity depends now wholly upon themselves, and is in their own power, by yielding all Obedience and due *Reverence to the Law, which is the Inheritance of every Subject, and the only Security he can have for his Life, Liberty or Estate; and the which being neglected or disesteemed (under what specious shews soever) a very great measure of Infelicity, if not irreparable Confusion, must without doubt fall upon them.* And we doubt not it will be the most acceptable Declaration a King can make to his Subjects, That for our part

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we are resolv'd not only duly to observe the Laws our Self, but to maintain them against what opposition soever, though with the hazard of our Being.

And our hope is, that not only the Loyalty and good Affections of all our loving Subjects will concur with us in the constant preserving a good understanding between us and our People, but at this time their own and our Interest; and Compassion of the lamentable condition of our poor Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, will invite them to a fair Intelligence and Unity amongst themselves, that so we may with one Heart intend the relieving and recovering that unhappy Kingdom; where those barbarous Rebels practise such inhuman and unheard-of Outrages upon our miserable People, that no Christian Ear can hear without Horror, nor Story parallel. And as we look upon this as the greatest Affliction it hath pleas'd God to lay upon us, so our Unhappiness is increas'd, in that by the Distempers at home, so early Remedies have not been apply'd to those growing Evils, as the Expectation and Necessity there requires; tho' for our part, as we did upon the first Notice acquaint our Parliament of *Scotland* (where we then were) with that Rebellion, requiring their Aid and Assistance, and gave like speedy Intimation and Recommendation to our Parliament here; so since our return hither, we have been forward to do all Things which have been propos'd to us toward that Work, and have lately our self offer'd (by a Message to our House of Peers, and communicated to our House of Commons) to take upon us the Care to raise speedily 10000 *English* Voluntiers for that Service, if the House of Commons shall declare that they will pay them: which Particulars we are (in a manner) necessitated to publish, since we are inform'd that the Malice of some Persons hath whisper'd it abroad, That the no speedier advancing of this Business, hath proceeded from some want of Alacrity in us to this great Work; whereas we acknowledge it a high Crime

Crime against Almighty God, and inexcusable to our good Subjects of our three Kingdoms, if we did not to the utmost employ all our Powers and Faculties to the speediest and most effectual Assistance and Protection of that distressed People.

And we shall now conjure all our good Subjects, of what Degree soever, by all the Bonds of Love, Duty, or Obedience, that are precious to good Men, to join with us for the Recovery of the Peace of that Kingdom, and the Preservation of the Peace of this; to remove all their Doubts and Fears, which may interrupt their Affection to us, and all their Jealousies and Apprehensions which may lessen their Charity to each other: and then (if the Sins of this Nation have not prepar'd an inevitable Judgment for us all) God will yet make us a great and glorious King, over a free and happy People.

NUM B. X.

Memoirs, A Fatal Letter of the Marquiss of *Montrose* to p. 48. K. *Charles I.* deliver'd during the Treaty of *Uxbridge*. An Original.

May it please your Sacred Majesty,

THE last dispatch I sent your Majesty, was by my worthy Friend; and your Majesty's brave Servant Sir *William Rollock*, from *Kintore* near *Aberdeen*, dated the 14th of *September* last; wherein I acquainted your Majesty with the good Success of your Arms in this Kingdom, and of the Battles the Justice of your Cause has won over your obdur'd Rebel Subjects. Since Sir *William Rollock* went, I have travers'd all the *North*, of *Scotland*, up to *Argyle's* Country, who durst not stay my coming, or I should have given your Majesty a good account of him ere now. But at last I have met with him

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yesterday to his Cost; of which your gracious Majesty be pleas'd to receive the following Particulars.

After I had laid waste the whole Country of *Argyle*, and brought off Provisions for my Army of what could be found, I receiv'd Information, that *Argyle* was got together with a considerable Army, made up chiefly of his own Clan (*Family*) and Vassals, and Tennants, with others of the Rebels that join'd him; and that he was at *Innerlochy*, where he expected the Earl of *Seaforth* and the Sept (*the Family*) of the *Fraziers*, to come up to him with all the Forces they could get together. Upon this Intelligence I departed out of *Argyleshire*, and march'd through *Lorn*, *Glencow*, and *Aber*, till I came to *Lochness*; my Design being to fall upon *Argyle*, before *Seaforth* and the *Fraziers* could join him. My March was through inaccessible Mountains, where I could have no Guides but Cow-herds, and they scarce acquainted with a Place but six Miles from their own Habitations. If I had been attack'd but with one hundred Men in some of these Passes, I must have certainly returned back; for it would have been impossible to force my way, most of the Passes being so strait, that three Men could not march abreast. I was willing to let the World see, that *Argyle* was not the Man his Highland Men believed him to be, and that it was impossible to beat him in his own Highlands. The difficultest March of all, was over the *Lochaber* Mountains, which we at last surmounted, and came upon the back of the Enemy when they least expected us, having cut off some Scouts we met about four Miles from *Innerlochy*. Our Van came within View of them about five a clock in the Afternoon, and we made a halt till our Rear was got up, which could not be done till eight at Night. The Rebels took the Alarm, and stood to their Arms as well as we, all Night, which was Moon-light, and very clear. There weresome few Skirmishes between the Rebels and us all the Night, and with no Loss

on our side, but one Man. By Break of Day I order'd my Men to be ready to fall on upon the first Signal; and I understand since by the Prisoners, the Rebels did the same. A little after the Sun was up, both Armies met, and the Rebels fought for some Time with great Bravery; the Prime of the *Campbells* giving the first Onset, as Men that deserv'd to fight in a better Cause. Our Men having a nobler Cause, did Wonders, and came immediately to push of Pick and dint of Sword, after their first Firing. The Rebels could not stand it, but after some Resistance at first, began to run, whom we pursu'd for nine Miles together, making a great Slaughter; which I would have hinder'd, if possible, that I might save your Majesty's misl'd Subjects; for well I know your Majesty does not delight in their Blood, but in their returning to their Duty. There were at least fifteen hundred kill'd in the Battle, and the Pursuit; among whom there are a great many of the most considerable Gentlemen of the Name of *Campbell*, and some of them nearly related to the Earl. I have sav'd and taken Prisoners several of them, that have acknowledg'd to me their Fault, and lay all the blame on their Chief. Some Gentlemen of the Low-Lands, that had behav'd themselves bravely in the Battle, when they saw all lost, fled into their old Castle; and upon their Surrender, I have treated them honourably, and taken their Parole, never to bear Arms against your Majesty. *(Here are six or seven Lines, that for the Honour of some Families, are better left out than mention'd.)* We have of your Majesty's Army about two hundred wounded, but I hope few of them dangerously. I can hear but of four kill'd, and one whom I cannot name to your Majesty, but with Grief of Mind, Sir *Thomas Ogilvy*, a Son of the Earl of *Arly's* of whom I writ to your Majesty in my last. He is not yet dead, but they say he cannot possibly live, and we give him over for dead. Your Majesty had never a truer Servant, nor there never was

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a braver honest Gentleman. For the rest of the Particulars of this Action, I refer my self to the Bearer, Mr. Hay, whom your Majesty knows already, and therefore I need not recommend him.

Now, *Sacred Sir*, Let me humbly intreat your Majesty's Pardon, if I presume to write you my poor Thoughts and Opinion about what I heard by a Letter I receiv'd from my Friends in the *South* last Week, as if your Majesty was entering into a Treaty with your Rebel Parliament in *England*. The Success of your Arms in *Scotland* does not more rejoice my Heart, as that News from *England* is like to break it. And whatever come of me, I will speak my Mind freely to your Majesty; for 'tis not mine, but your Majesty's Interest I seek. When I had the Honour of waiting upon your Majesty last, I told you at full length what I fully understood of the Designs of your Rebel Subjects in both Kingdoms; which I had occasion to know, as much as any one whatsoever, being at that Time, as they thought, entirely in their Interest. Your Majesty may remember how much you said you were convinc'd I was in the right in my Opinion of them. I am sure there is nothing fallen out since, to make your Majesty change your Judgment in all those Things I laid before your Majesty at that Time. The more your Majesty grants, the more will be ask'd; and I have too much reason to know, that they will not rest satisfy'd with less than making your Majesty a King of Straw. I hope the News I have receiv'd about a Treaty, may be a Mistake; and the rather, that the Letter wherewith the Queen was pleas'd to honour me, dated the 30th of *December*, mentions no such Thing. Yet I know not what to make of the Intelligence I receiv'd, since it comes from Sir Robert Spotswood, who writes it with a great Regret; and 'tis no wonder, considering no Man living is a more true Subject to your Majesty, than he. Forgive me, *Sacred Sovereign*, to tell your Majesty, That in my poor O-

pinion, it is unworthy of a King, to treat with Rebel Subjects while they have the Sword in their Hands. And tho' God forbid I should stint your Majesty's Mercy, yet I must declare the horror I am in, when I think of a Treaty, while your Majesty and they are in the Field with two Armies; unless they disband, and submit themselves entirely to your Majesty's Goodness and Pardon. As to the State of Affairs in this Kingdom, the Bearer will fully inform your Majesty in every Particular. And give me leave, with all Humility, to assure your Majesty, That through God's Blessing, I am in the fairest hopes of reducing this Kingdom to Obedience. And if the Measures I have concerted with your other Loyal Subjects, fail me not, which they hardly can, I doubt not but before the end of this Summer, I shall be able to come to your Majesty's Assistance with a brave Army; which, back'd with the Justice of your Majesty's Cause, will make the Rebels in *England*, as well as in *Scotland*, feel the just Rewards of Rebellion. Only give me leave, after I have reduc'd this Country to your Majesty's Obedience, and conquer'd from *Dan* to *Beersheba*, to say to your Majesty then, as *David's* General did to his Master, *Come thou thy self, lest this Country be call'd by my Name*. For in all my Actions, aim only at your Majesty's Honour and Interest, as becomes one that is to his last Breath,

May it please your Sacred Majesty,

Innerlochy in Loch-
aber, Feb. 3.
1645.

*Your Majesty's most humble
most faithful, and
Most obedient Subject, and Servant,*

Montros.

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NUMB. XI.

The Address of General *Monk*, and his Officers, from *Scotland*, to the Parliament of *England*, against Monarchy, upon *Richard Cromwell's* Abdication. *Memoirs*, p. 75.

Right Honourable,

THAT a Nation may be born in a Day, is a Truth which this Day's Experience witnesseth unto us, against all the Dictates of human Reason; and that a glorious Cause, whose Interest was laid low, (even in the Dust) should be in one Day restor'd to its Life and Lustre, when almost all the Asserters of it had so manifestly declin'd it by a Defection of many Years, cannot be imputed to less than the greatest and most powerful Manifestation of the Arm of God, that ever this, or former Generations saw, or heard of.

In the Sense of this, (the greatest of our Temporal Mercies) we now come to address to your Honours, as those whose Presence we have so long wanted, that had you stay'd but a little longer, it might have been left to be enquir'd what *England* was; we mean, what was become of that People, by whom God for so many Years fill'd the World with so much Admiration and Terror. But tho' this great Work be (as most justly it ought to be) wonderful in our Eyes, yet when we consider its Author, who calls Things that are not, as if they were, bringeth down to the Pit, and raiseth up again; we see that nothing is difficult to Faith, and the Promises of God are sure and stable, even then, when in the Eye of Man no less than impossible.

We cannot but acknowledge, to our exceeding great Sorrow and Shame, that our selves (tho' we hope most of us,

us, thro' Weakness and Frailty, not out of Design) have very much contributed to those Provocations, which have caus'd God to depart from our *Israel*; and we could heartily wish, that even amongst those that help to make up your own Number, there had not been an helping Hand to this sad and deplorable Work: But we see when God's Hour is come, and the Time of his People's Deliverance, (even the Set-Time is at hand) he cometh skipping over all the Mountains of Sin and Unworthiness, that we daily cast in the way.

We are not willing to detain your Honours too long upon this Subject; and therefore beseeching the God of all our Mercies, to heal the backslidings of his People, and not to charge unto their account, in this his Day of their Deliverance, their Miscarriages, whilst they were wandering in dark and slippery Places, after the Imaginations of their own Hearts: We, with all Humility and Affection, in the first place, congratulate you in this your happy Restoration to the Government of these Nations; which God was pleas'd once so to own in your Hands, as to make you both the Praise and Wonder of the Earth, the Glory and Rejoicing of his People, and the Terror of your Adversaries: And we acknowledge it a singular Condescension in you, in this Day of so great Difficulties

to take upon you so heavy a Burden. And

Richard Cromwell. seeing his late Highness hath been pleas'd to manifest so much Self-denial and Love to his

Country, in appearing for the Interest thereof against his own; we humbly intreat, that some speedy Care may be taken for him and his Family, (together with her Highness Dowager) that there may be such an honourable Provision settled upon them, and such other Dignities, as are suitable to the former great Services of that Family to these Nations.

And in the next place, we cannot but humbly beseech you, now you have an Opportunity, than which a fitter
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your Hearts did never pray for, to finish the Work of Reformation that hath been so long upon the Wheel, and met with so great Obstructions; that you would not heal the wound of the Daughter of God's People slightly, but make so sure and lasting Provision for both their Christian and Civil Rights, as that both this and future Generations may have cause to rise up, and call you blessed, and the blackest Designs may never be able to cast Dirt in your Faces any more. And as helpful to these two great Concernments, Religion and Liberty, we humbly propose to your mature Considerations these two Desires.

First, That you would be pleas'd to countenance Godliness, and all the sincere Professors thereof, encourage an able and laborious Ministry, and suffer no other Yoke to be impos'd upon the Consciences of God's People, than what may be agreeable to the Word of God; and that you would be a Terror to all impious, profane, and licentious People whatsoever.

Secondly, that you would so vindicate and assert the native Rights and Liberties of these Nations, in and by the Government of a *Free-State*, that there may not be the Voice of an oppress'd one in our Land, but that all may enjoy the blessed Fruits of your righteous and peaceable Government. And for the prevention of all Possibility for ambitious Spirits ever to work their Ends against you, we humbly desire you to be very careful, as well what Persons you intrust with the Management of the Armies and Navies of this Commonwealth, as of the Measure of that Power and Authority, you depart with to them, or substitute in them. Touching the Qualifications of the Persons, we desire they may be truly godly and conscientious. Touching the measure of their Authority, that, it may be adequate to the Nature and Being of a *Commonwealth*. And whilst you are thus pleading and asserting the Interest of God, and his People, you may rest assur'd with greatest Confidence, that we shall appear

appear in your Defence, and the Vindication of your Authority, against the Opposition of all Arbitrary Powers whatsoever.

And to that blessed and all-powerful God, who is able to spirit you for this great Work, you are, and shall daily be recommended in the Prayers of,

Your most loyal, and most
obedient Servants,

George Monk,
Thomas Read,
Ralph Cobbet,
Tim. Wilks,
Robert Read,
John Cloberry,
Abraham Holmes,
Henry Dorney,
Daniel Davison,
Richard Heath,
Michael Richardson,
J. Hubbelthorn,
Thom. Johnson,

P. Crisp,
He. Brithman,
Phil. Watson,
Thomas Dean,
Jerem. Smith,
William Davis,
James Wright,
Jos. Wallinton,
Will. Helling,
Ethelb. Morgan,
Rob. Winter,
John Paddon,
Anthony Nowers.

The Form of the Declaration and Engagement taken by General *Monk*, and his Officers, against Monarchy, and the Family of the *Stuarts*, at his coming up from Scotland.

Whitlock's *Memoirs,* Pag. 684. **I** *A. B.* do hereby declare, That I do renounce the pretended Title of *Charles Stuart*; and the whole Line of the late King *James*, and of every other Person, as a single Person, pretending to the Government of these Nations of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging. And

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And that I will, by the Grace and Assistance of Almighty God, be true, faithful, and constant to this Commonwealth, against any King, single Person, and House of Peers, and every of them; and hereunto I subscribe my Name.

N U M B. XII.

King James the II^d's promising Speech to *Memoirs*,
the Parliament, May 30, 1685. p. 99.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Thank you very heartily for the Bill you have presented this day; and I assure you, the readiness and cheerfulness that hath attended the dispatch of it, is as acceptable to me, as the Bill it self.

After so happy a beginning, you may believe I would not call upon you unnecessarily for an extraordinary Supply: But when I tell you the Stores of the Navy are extremely exhausted; that the Anticipations upon several Branches of the Revenue are great and burdensome; and the Debts of the King my Brother, to his Servants and Family, are such as deserve Compassion; that the Rebellion in *Scotland*, without putting more weight upon it than it really deserves, must oblige me to a considerable expence extraordinary: I am sure such Considerations will move you to give me an Aid to provide for those Things, wherein the Security, the Ease, and the Happiness of my Government are so much concern'd. But above all, I must recommend to you the Care of the Navy, the Strength and Glory of this Nation, that you will put it into such a Condition, *as will make us considerable, and respected abroad*. I cannot express my Concerns upon this occasion more suitable to my own Thoughts of it, than by assuring you, I have a true *English* Heart, as jealous of the Honour of the Nation as you can be; and I please my

self with the Hopes, that by God's Blessing, and your Assistance, I may carry its Reputation yet higher in the World than ever it has been in the Time of any of my Ancestors.

And as I will not call upon you for Supplies, but when they are of publick Use and Advantage, so I promise you, That what you give me upon such Occasions, shall be manag'd with good Husbandry; and I will take care it shall be employ'd to the Uses for which I ask them.

N U M B. XIII.

Memoirs, Two remarkable Letters of a Foreign Minister to their Ambassador in *England*, relating to King *James's* preceding Speech. *Translated from the Originals.*

Monsieur,

Paris, June 29, 1685.

THE Copy of his *B. M's* Speech to the Parliament, inclos'd in yours of the 9th Instant, *S. V.* affords sufficient matter of Thoughts here. It is of a Strain that looks quite contrary to what we expected, or what you your self in yours of the 11th of the last Month made us believe it would be. The King can scarce believe there is any Change in the Affections of that Prince towards him, and yet knows not what to make of that new Manner of expressing himself on so publick an Occasion. If he and his Parliament come to a cordial Trust in one another, it may probably change all the Measures we have been so long concerting for the Glory of our Monarch, and the Establishment of the Catholick Religion. For my own part, I hope the Accession of a Crown has not lessen'd the Zeal that on all Occasions appear'd in him, when but Duke of *York*. Nor will the King's inviolable Attachment to the Interest of the Duke in the most difficult Emergents, permit him now, when King, to forget

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get his Obligations and Engagements to him. There are better Things to be hoped for, from one that has run so great Hazards upon the account of his Religion, and who has so often express'd his Resentments of the good Turns the King did him in his Brother's Life-time.

Yet 'tis fit you take all possible care to search into the Motives and Advisers of this Speech: And I am commanded to tell you, that this is one of the greatest Pieces of Service you can do his Majesty in this Juncture. There are not wanting some here, that would attribute it to a Change in the King of *England's* Inclinations; and they pretend to have hints of it from some about his Person. What Truth is in this Suggestion, you are to spare nothing to find out. If the Parliament come once to settle a Revenue upon him, such as may put him out of our Reverence, your Business there will be the more difficult to manage; for doubtless he must have Ambition, and likewise a Desire to please a Nation, who had but an ill Opinion of him before: And nothing can be more taking with them, than a Breach with us. It will be strange indeed, if in the Death of King *Charles*, *France* has chang'd for the worse. But whatever others fear, I must once more confess for my self, that I am of the same Opinion I was always of, even that we must necessarily gain by the Change. Your Bills are sent this Post, Nothing can be more earnestly recommended to you in his Majesty's Name, than a narrow Enquiry into this Affair, by

Monseieur,

Your most humble Servant.

The other runs thus :

Monseieur,

July 8. 1685.

TIS unlucky, that hitherto you have not been able to find out what we are to expect from this Change

in *England*. In yours of the 13th of the last Month, 8. V. you seem to call in question that King's Inclinations to the common Cause; and you surprize us with your Fears, that he may come to forget his Obligations to the King. With the same Post we receiv'd better News from a sure hand; yet you are to watch as narrowly as if your Fears were well-grounded. There is great matter in dependance, with relation to the Edict of *Nants*, which must not be declar'd, till that King's Inclinations be fully known. And yet there is nothing in the World the King desires more eagerly to see done than it, if once it might be done safely. Receive inclos'd an Answer to every one of your Queries, which make use of, as occasion offers. Only the last is referr'd to your own Discretion, it depending entirely upon your own Knowledge of the Person: If he can be brought in, it will be a notable piece of Service. Much may be known, by enquiring exactly how the Prince of *Orange* stands in the King's Affections, and how the Ministers are affected towards him. For the *Hollanders* in general, he seem'd on all Occasions neither to love nor fear them. Nothing has fallen out of late to alter his Mind. On *Friday* Monsieur *Less*. comes off, who is to shew you his Dispatches, and you are to act in concert with him.

I am, &c.

N U M B. XIV.

Memoirs, Some Passages out of the Duke of *Munmouth*'s p. 105. Pocket-Book, that was seiz'd about him in the *West*. An Original.

Octob. 13. **L**. Came to me at eleven at Night from 29, told me 29 could never be brought to believe I know any thing of that part of the Plot that concern'd *Rye-House*; but as Things went, he must behave himself

himself as if he did believe it, for some Reasons that might be for my Advantage. *L.* desir'd me to write to 29, which I refus'd; but afterwards told me, 29 expected it: And I promis'd to write to-morrow, if he could call for the Letter; at which *S. L.* shew'd a great concern for me, and I believe him sincere, though 3 is of another mind.

14. *L.* came as he promis'd, and receiv'd the Letter from 3 seal'd, refusing to read it himself, tho' I had left it open with *S.* for that Purpose.

20. *L.* came to me at *S.* with a Line or two from 29 very kind, assuring me he believed every word in my Letter to be true; and advis'd me to keep hid, till he had an opportunity to express his Belief of it some other Way. *L.* told me, that he was to go out of Town next Day; and that 29 would send 80 to me in a Day or two, whom he assur'd me I might trust.

25. *L.* came for me to—, where 29 was with 80. He receiv'd me pretty well, and said 30 and 50 were the Causes of my Misfortune, and would ruin me. After some hot Words against them, and against *S.* went away in a good Humour.

26. I went to E——, and was in danger of being discover'd by some of *Oglethorp's* Men, that met me accidentally at the back-door of the Garden.

Nov. 2. A Letter from 29, to be to-morrow at seven at Night at *S.* and no body to know it but 80.

3. He came not, there being an extraordinary Council. But 80 brought me a Copy of 50's intercepted Letter, which made rather for me than against me. Bid me come to-morrow at the same Hour, and to say nothing of the Letter, except 29 spoke of it first.

4. I came and found 29 and *L.* there. He was very kind, and gave me Directions how to manage my Business, and what Words I should say, to 39. He appointed 80 to come to me every Night till my Business was ripe, and promis'd to send with him Directions from time to time

9. *L.*

9. *L.* came from 29, and told me my Business should be done to my mind next Week, and that *Q.* was my Friend, and had spoke to 39 and *D.* in my behalf; which he said 29 took very kindly, and had expressed so to her. At parting, he told me there should be nothing requir'd of me, but what was both safe and honourable. But said there must be something done to blind 39.

15. *L.* came to me with the Copy of a Letter I was to sign to please 39. I desir'd to know in whose hands it was to be deposited; for I would have it in no Hands but 29. He told me it should be so; but if 39 ask'd a Copy, it could not well be refus'd. I referr'd my self entirely to 29's Pleasure.

24. *L.* came to me from 29, and order'd me to render my self to-morrow. Caution'd me to play my part, to avoid Questions as much as possible, and to seem absolutely converted to 39's Interest. Bade me bear with some Words that might seem harsh.

25. I render'd my self. At Night 29 could not dissemble his Satisfaction, press'd my Hand; which I remember not he did before, except when I return'd from the *French Service*. 29 acted his part well, and I too. 39 and *D.* seem'd not ill pleas'd.

26. 29 took me aside, and falling upon the Business of *L. R.* said he inclin'd to have fav'd him, but was forc'd to it, otherwise he must have broke with 39. Bid me think no more on't. Coming home, *L.* told me he fear'd 39 began to smell out 29's Carriage. That——said to 39 that Morning, that all that was done was but Sham.

27. Several told me of the Storm that was brewing. *Rumsey* was with 39, and was seen to come out crying, that he must accuse a Man he lov'd.

Dec. 19. A Letter from 29, bidding me stay till I heard farther from him.

Jan. 5. I receiv'd a letter from *L.* marked by 29 in the Margin, to trust entirely in 10; and that in *February* I should

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should certainly have leave to return. That Matters were concerted towards it; and that 39 had no Suspicion, notwithstanding of my Reception here.

Feb. 3. A Letter from *L.* that my Business was almost as well as done; but must be so sudden, as not to leave room for 39's Party to counterplot. That it is probable he would chuse *Scotland* rather than *Flanders*, or this Country, which was all one to 29.

16. The sad News of his Death by *L. O cruel Fate!*

Note, *That by 29 and 39, King Charles and the Duke of York seem to be meant. But I know not what to make of the other Numbers and Letters, and must leave the Reader to his own Conjectures.*

N U M B. XV.

A Letter of the late Duke of *Munmouths* writ *Memoirs*, in his Retirement in *Holland*, a little before p. 106. his Attempt in the *West*. An Original.

I Receiv'd both yours together this Morning, and cannot delay you my answer longer than this Post, tho' I am afraid it will not please you so much as I heartily wish it may. I have weigh'd all your Reasons, and every Thing that you and my other Friends have writ me upon that Subject; and have done it with the greatest Inclinations to follow your Advice, and without Prejudice. You may well believe I have had Time enough to reflect sufficiently upon our present State, especially since I came hither. But whatever way I turn my Thoughts, I find insuperable Difficulties. Pray do not think it an effect of Melancholy, for that was never my greatest Fault, when I tell you. That in these three Weeks Retirement in this Place, I have not only look'd back, but forward; and the more I consider our present Circumstances, I think them

them still the more desperate, unless some unforeseen Accident fall out, which I cannot divine nor hope for. (*Here follow sixteen Lines all in Cyphers.*) Judge then what we are to expect, in case we should venture upon any such Attempt, at this Time. 'Tis to me a vain Argument, that our Enemies are scarce yet well settled, when you consider that Fear in some, and Ambition in others, have brought them to comply; and that the Parliament being made up for the most part of Members that formerly run our Enemy down, they will be ready to make their Peace as soon as they can, rather than hazard themselves upon an uncertain bottom. I give you but Hints of what, if I had Time, I would write you at more length: But that I may not seem obstinate in my own Judgment, or neglect the Advice of my Friends, I will meet you at the Time and Place appointed. But for God's sake, think in the mean Time of the Improbabilities that lie naturally in our way; and let us not, by struggling with our Chains, make them straiter and heavier. For my part, I'll run the hazard of being thought any Thing, rather than a rash inconsiderate Man. And to tell you my Thoughts without disguise, I am now so much in love with a retir'd Life, that I am never like to be fond of *making a Bustle in the World again*. I have much more to say, but the Post cannot stay; and I refer the rest till meeting, being entirely

Yours.

NUMB. XVI.

Memoirs, King James II's. remarkable Speech to the
 p. 108. *Parliament, after the Duke of Munmouth's*
Defeat.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

After the Storm that seem'd to be coming upon us when we parted last, I am glad to meet you all again

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gain in so great Peace and Quietness; God Almighty be prais'd, by whose blessing that Rebellion was suppress'd. But when I reflect what an inconsiderable number of Men began it, and how long they carry'd it on without any Opposition, I hope every body will be convinc'd, that the Militia, which hath hitherto been so much depended on, is not sufficient for such Occasions; and that there is nothing but a good force of well-disciplin'd Troops, in constant Pay, that can defend us from such, as either at home or abroad are dispos'd to disturb us. And in Truth, my Concern for the Peace and Quiet of my Subjects, as well as for the Safety of the Government, made me think it necessary to increase the number to the Proportion I have done. This I ow'd, as well to the Honour, as to the Security of the Nation, whose Reputation was so infinitely expos'd to all our Neighbours, by having lain open to this late wretched Attempt, that it is not to be repair'd without keeping such a Body of Men on foot, that none may ever have the Thought again, of finding us so miserably unprovided. It is for the Support of this great Charge, which is now more than double to what it was, that I ask your Assistance in giving me a Supply answerable to the Expence it brings along with it. And I cannot doubt but what I have begun, so much for the Honour and Defence of the Government, will be continu'd by you with all the chearfulness and readiness that is requisite for a work of so great Importance.

Let no Man take Exceptions, that there are some Officers in the Army, not qualify'd, according to the late Tests, for their Employments. The Gentlemen, I must tell you, are most of them well known to me; and having formerly serv'd with me in several Occasions, and always approv'd the Loyalty of their Principles by their Practice, I think them fit now to be employ'd under me: And will deal plainly with you, that after having had the benefit of their Services in such Time of Need and Danger, I will neither

expose them to Disgrace, nor my self to the want of them if there should be another Rebellion to make them necessary to me.

I am afraid some Men may be so wicked to hope and expect, that a Difference may happen between you and me upon this Occasion: But when you consider what Advantages have arisen to us in a few Months, by the good Understanding we have hitherto had; what wonderful Effects it hath already produc'd in the Change of the whole Scene of Affairs abroad, so much more to the Honour of the Nation, and the Figure it ought to make in the World; and that nothing can hinder a farther Progress in this Way, to all our Satisfaction, but Fears and Jealousies amongst our selves: I will not apprehend, that such a Misfortune can befall us, as a Division, or but a Coldness between me and you; nor that any Thing can shake you in your Steadiness and Loyalty to me, who by God's Blessing will ever make you all returns of Kindness and Protection, with a Resolution to venture even my own Life in the defence of the true Interest of this Kingdom.

N U M B. XVII.

Some Passages of a Letter from a foreign Minister, to their Ambassador in *England*, upon the Occasion of the King's Speech immediately preceding; dated *November 29. 1685.*
Memoirs, Done from the Original.

WE are now out of pain about the King's Intentions. This last Speech to the Parliament hath sufficiently clear'd all our Doubts, together with what—has writ upon that Subject. 'Tis no more than what I really expected: for I had always a better Opinion of him, than to think he could bear tamely the Fetters which Hereticks would endeavour to impose upon him. For the
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Time to come, I hope he will act *en Maître*. Your Conduct there pleases extremely; and above all, your last Dispatch about what pass'd at your Audience. All you have promis'd shall be made good to a Title; and 'tis hop'd, that others will be as zealous to keep their Promises to us. The inclos'd you must deliver, but not till you see the Person has deserv'd it; for I am more and more persuaded, as well as you, that we cannot be too much upon the reserve with him, &c.

N U M B. XVIII.

The Harrangue of the Rector of the *Nouveau Voyage*
Jesuits College at Rome, to the Earl *d' Italie*, p. 259,
of Castlemain, upon his Embassy to 260. *Memoirs*,
the Pope. p. 116.

IN tanto strepitu Mundi plaudentis gratulantisque tuo
in Urbem adventui, hoc est immortalibus *JACOBI*
II. Magnæ Britanniae Regis, in Catholicam Ecclesiam me-
ritis, Gregorianum hoc Palladis Athenæum, nec debuit
tacere nec potuit. Quamobrem, ego Literariæ hujus
Universitatis nomine, primo gratulor *INNOCENTI*
XI. felicitati, quod ipso regnante, Pontificio accesserit
Diademati Augusta hæc & Triumphalis Corona; unde
illud cum Apostolo usurpare jure Merito valeat, *Gaudium*
meum, & Corona mea. Hunc lætissimum ferre Mortali-
bus Diem, longissimi ævi spatio distulerunt Superi, tum
ut diuturnis Terrarum votis ingentia hæc Cœli dona res-
ponderent, tum ut simul invenirent regnantem in Anglia
Jacobum II. Romæ Innocentium XI. Gratulor quoque
Christiano Orbi, nec non Catholicis Regibus, quod tanto
Dominatore Britannorum Sceptra gerente, tam grande ad-
venerit, & ipsorum Coronis adversus Christiani nominis
hostes munimentum, & Orthodoxæ Fidei ornamentum.
Imminent quippe ab invictissimi Regis Classibus, tum
Lybicus prædonibus, tum Asiæ & Palestinæ Littoribus,

flammarum procellæ, magis metuendæ quam Maris. At Tibi, Oceani Regina Magna Britannia, quæ a nostro olim Orbe divisa, nunc gemini facis commercia Mundi; quid not liceat ominari faustitatis sub tanto Principe! Erige spes, erige vota; nec timeas si maxima, sed nisi maxima. Non libet in die hac faustissima commemorare quam lugubres passa fueris unius amplius seculi spatios, toto Orbe Terrarum admirante atque ingemisciente, catastrophas. Sed si hæc una erat via, qua Jacobus II. Britannia solium ascenderet, prope est ut exclamem, tanti fuisse. Profecto invidebit Tibi Posteritas, non modo præsentiam temporum felicitatem, sed & præteritorum Calamitates tam grandi mercede redemptas: eaque quibus nunc frueris bona, etsi post ingens a Te pretium persolutum Tibi reddita fuerint non a Te coempta arbitrabitur, sed quadam Superum prodigentia, dona data. Tibi demum gratulor, præstantissime Orator, quod tam faustum diem, & videris in Anglia, & detuleris in Urbem. Nam de Sapientia tua qua per eruditissimos libros Hæresim profligasti, nihil attinet dicere: nihil de Fortitudine, qua Carceres ipsos pro Catholica Religione tuenda, non tam pertulisti, quam decorasti: nil de Prudentia, Nobilitate, ceterisque dotibus tuis. Hoc unum universa tua decora comprehendit, quod ad maximum totius Regni negotium, hoc est; ut splendidissima fungereris apud Innocentium P. M. legatione, Jacobus II. Magnæ Britannia Rex maximus, te unum elegit, quia unus dignus erat elegi, alter eligere.

The Speech of the Rector of the College of Jesuits, to his Excellency *Roger, Earl of Castlemain,*

S I R,

YOU must not think this College alone can be mute; and if they could, their Silence must be a Crime, at a Time when this City is fill'd with universal Joy, upon

on the News of your Excellency's arrival; and all Places resound the Praises of King *James II.* and the Obligations the Catholick Church has to that illustrious Prince. I, in the name of this Learned Body, do in the first place congratulate thee, *Innocent*, in whose Reign this flourishing Imperial Crown is added to the Papal Diadem. It is now your Holiness can properly use that Apostlick Expression, *My Joy, and my Crown.* Heaven has deferr'd this happy Day thus long, that so great a Blessing might not be obtain'd, without long and unwearied Prayers; and at last effected, when two such Princes as *James* and *Innocent* should concur to reign, the one in *England*, and the other in *Rome.* What a support have all Catholick Kings gain'd by this Accession! What an Honour has the Orthodox Faith receiv'd, and what a Defence against the Enemies of the Name of Christ! The Thunder of his invincible Fleet will strike greater Terror into the Pirates of *Barbary* and the *Levant*, than Storms and Waves can do. How highly bless'd art thou, O *Britain!* Empress of the Ocean, once secluded from the Earth, now Mistress of the Commerce of the *Eastern* and *Western* World? What Prosperity may'st thou not hope for, under the Reign of so excellent a Prince? Raise thy Hopes, raise thy Courage; and banish all unjust and unreasonable Fears. I have no Inclination at this Time, to recount those Disasters and Calamities which *England* has been the Theatre for above an Age past, to the Grief and Astonishment of the rest of the World. But if Providence have made these the Steps for *James II.* to mount the Throne, I can hardly refrain declaring how cheaply thou hast purchas'd so great a Blessing. It is certain, their present Happiness will create Envy in succeeding Times; and however dear it has cost them, Posterity will esteem it more the Bounty and Profusion of Heaven, than a Recompence of their Sufferings. In the last place, I must congratulate your Excellency, who has first seen this happy Day at home, and has

next;

next been the Messenger to bring it hither. I shall not here presume to praise your great Wisdom, your Learned Writings against Heresy, that steady Courage you have shewn in those many Prisons you have honour'd, for your Zeal to the true Religion; your prudent Conduct, or your other extraordinary Qualities. All these are summ'd up in one; and your Character is in fine compleated, by the Choice your Great Master has made of you, to sustain the most considerable Affair of his Kingdom, the present glorious Embassy, in which all the World must own him to be the most competent Judge, and you the fittest Person.

NUM B. XIX.

Memoirs,
p. 128. The Answer of the Vice-President, and Fellows of *Magdalen-College, Oxon*, before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; Why they could not in Conscience comply with the King's Mandate.

THE said Vice-President, and other deputed Fellows, answer'd and said, That the said College of *St. Mary-Magdalen in Oxon*, is a Body Corporate, govern'd by local Statutes, granted and confirm'd to them by his Majesty's Royal Predecessors, King *Henry VI.* for him and his Heirs and Successors, under the Great Seal of *England*; which are also since confirm'd by several other Letters Patents of others of his Majesty's Royal Predecessors, under the Great Seal of *England*. That by the said Statutes of the College, (to the Observation of which each Fellow is sworn) it is order'd, That the Person elected President thereof, shall be a Man of good Life and Reputation, approv'd Understanding, and good Temper, discreet, provident, and circumspect, both in Spiritual and Temporal Affairs: And at the Time of Election of a President, the said Fellows are bound, by the said Statutes,

to take an Oath, that they shall nominate none to that Office, but such as are, or have been Fellows of the said College, or of *New-College* in *Oxon*; or if they are not actually Fellows at that Time of Election, that they be such as have left their Fellowships in their respective Colleges upon credible Accounts. And when two qualify'd Persons shall be nominated at the Time of Election, by the greater Number of all the Fellows, to the said Office of President; the thirteen Seniors also swear, that they will elect one of them, whom in their Consciences they think most proper and sufficient, most discreet, most useful, and best qualify'd for the Place; without any regard to Love, Hatred, Favour, or Fear. And every Fellow, when he is first admitted into his Fellowship in the said College, swears that he will inviolably keep and observe all the Statutes and Ordinances of the College, and every Thing therein contain'd, so far as does, or may concern him; according to the plain, literal, and grammatical Sense and Meaning thereof; and as much as in him lies, will cause the same to be kept and observ'd by others; and that he will not procure any Dispensation, contrary to his aforesaid Oath, or any part thereof, nor contrary to the Statutes and Ordinances to which it relates, or any of them; nor will he endeavour that such Dispensations shall be procur'd by any other, or others, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly. And if it shall happen, that any Dispensation of this sort, of whatsoever Authority it shall be, whether in general or particular, or under what form of Words soever it be granted, that he will neither make use of it, nor in any sort consent thereunto. That upon Notice of the Death of *Dr. Clark*, late President of the said College, the Vice-President called a Meeting of the said Fellows, in order to the appointing a Day for the Election of a new President; and the 13th of *April* was the Time prefix'd, with Power to prorogue the same as they should see cause, till the 15th, beyond

beyond which Time they could not statutably defer their Election: and in pursuance thereof, a Citation, or Premonition, was fix'd upon the Chappel-door of the said College, signifying the same, and by which the absent Fellows were summon'd to repair home, as the Statute in the Case requires. And the said Vice-President, and other deputed Fellows farther say, That on the 11th of *April* aforesaid, they receiv'd his Majesty's Letters Mandatory, to elect and admit Mr. *Anthony Farmer*, President of the said College. But forasmuch as the said Vice-President, and Fellows, apprehended the Right of Election to be in them, and believ'd his Majesty never intend'd to dispossess them of their Rights; and forasmuch as the said Mr. *Farmer* had never been Fellow either of *Magdalen* or *New-College* in *Oxon*, and had not those Qualifications which in and by the said Statutes of the College are requir'd in the Character of a President, as they in their Consciences did, or do verily believe; and in regard that they could not comply with his Majesty's Letter, without the Violation of their Oaths, and hazard of their legal Interest and Property, wherewith they are by the said Statutes possess'd, and which by their Oaths they are bound to maintain; they represented the same by their humble Petition to his Majesty: and having deserr'd their Election of a President to the last Day limited by their Statutes, then they proceeded to Election, and having first receiv'd the Eucharist, and taken the said Oaths, as the Statutes enjoin, to chuse a Person so qualified as is before express'd, they did elect the Reverend Mr. *John Hough*, B. D. and one of the Fellows of their College, a Person every way qualify'd to be President; who has been since confirm'd by the Bishop of *Winton*, their Visitor, as the Statutes of the said College direct.

And that they might not lie under his Majesty's Displeasure by their Proceedings, they did, on the 9th of *April*, make an humble Representation thereof to his Majesty,
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by his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, Chancellor of the University of *Oxon*, setting forth their indispensable Obligations to observe their Founders Statutes.

All which Matters the Vice-President and other deput-ed Fellows do humbly offer to your Lordships, and pray to be dismiss'd with your Lordships Favour.

NUM B. XX.

The Petition of the said Vice-President, and *Memoirs*,
Fellows, offer'd to King *James*.
p. 129.

Humbly sheweth,

THAT upon the 27th of *August* we receiv'd your Majesty's Letters Mandatory, dated *August* the 14th, requiring us to admit the Right Reverend Father in God, *Samuel* Lord Bishop of *Oxon*, to be our President; and dispensing with all Statutes and Constitutions to the contrary. It is an unexpressible Affliction to us, to find our selves reduced to such an Extremity, that either we must disobey your Majesty's Royal Command, contrary to our own Inclinations, and that constant Course of Loyalty, which we have shew'd in all Instances hitherto, upon all Occasions whatsoever; or else break our Founders Statutes, and deliberately Perjure our selves.

For our Founder hath oblig'd us, under Oath, when we came in Fellows, inviolably to observe his Statutes; and one Clause therein enjoins us never to admit, or make use of Dispensation, granted by any Authority whatsoever, whereby we may be absolv'd from the same. In this Statute, for the Election of a President, he commands us upon Oath to elect such a Person into the place of President within fifteen Days after the Vacancy. who either is, or has been Fellow of our own, or *New-College*; which we represented to your Majesty in our humble Pe-

ition, sign'd *April* 9th, wherein we offer'd our selves ready to elect any Person, capable of the same, whom your Majesty should be pleas'd to recommend; and having waited the utmost time limited by our Statutes, and receiv'd no Answer to that effect, we did then according to the Exigency of our Statutes, (having first taken the Holy Eucharist, and our several Oaths to that purpose) nominate and elect such a Person, as we in our Consciences did believe to be every way qualify'd for that Place: by which Act of ours, we have convey'd all that Right to him, which our Founder hath entrusted with us; and it does not lie in our Power to admit any other. Our Founder in another Statute obligeth us under the Pain of Perjury, a dreadful Anathema, and eternal Damnation, not to suffer any of his Statutes to be altered, infringed or dispensed with; and commands us under the same Sacred Obligations, not to execute any Orders or Decree whatsoever, contrary or repugnant to the said Statutes: by which said Statutes and Oaths, we are utterly incapacitated to admit the said Reverend Father in God to be our President.

May it please your Sacred Majesty, to give us leave to lay this our Case, and our selves, with all Submission, at your Royal Feet, most earnestly beseeching your Sacred Majesty, to extend to us your humble Petitioners, the Grace and Tendernefs which your Majesty hath vouchsafed to all your other Subjects; and not to believe us guilty of any Obstinacy, or Undutifulness, Crimes which our Souls abhor, but to receive us into your Majesty's Grace and Favour, the greatest Temporal Blessing which our Hearts can wish.

And your humble Petitioners shall always (as in Duty bound) pray to Almighty God, to bless your Majesty with a long and happy Reign over us, and afterwards to receive you to an immortal Crown of Glory.

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NUM B. XXI.

A Copy of a Letter of the *Irish* Clergy to King *James*, in favour of the Earl of *Tyrconnel*; found among Bishop *Tyrrel's* Papers in *Dublin*.

Memoirs,
p. 140.

S I R,

SINCE it has pleased the Almighty Providence, by placing your Majesty in the Throne of your Ancestors, to give you both Authority and Occasion of exercising those Royal Virtues which alone do merit, and would acquire you the Crown to which you were born, we, though comprehended in the general Clemency and Indulgence which you extend to the rest of our Fellow-Subjects, are nevertheless so remote from your Majesty's Presence, that our Prayers can have no Access to you, but by a Mediator. And since, of all others, the Earl of *Tyrconnel* did first espouse, and chiefly maintain, these twenty five Years last past, the Cause of your poor oppress'd Roman Catholick Clergy, against our many and powerful Adversaries, and is now the only Subject of your Majesty, under whose Fortitude and Popularity in this Kingdom, we dare chearfully, and with Assurance, own our Loyalty, and assert your Majesty's Interest; we make it our humble Suit to your Majesty, that you will be pleased to lodge your Authority over us in his Hands, to the Terror of the Factious, and Encouragement of your faithful Subjects here; since his Dependance on your Majesty is so great, that we doubt not but that they will receive him with such Acclamations as the long-captiv'd *Israelites* did their Redeemer *Mordecai*. And since your Majesty, in Glory and Power, does equal the mighty *Aba-*

The State
of Ireland
under King
James, by Dr.
King, p. 294.
295.

fuerus, and the Virtue and Beauty of your Queen, is as true a Parallel to his ador'd *Esther*, we humbly beseech she may be heard as our great Patroness, against that *Hamman*, whose Pride and Ambition of being honoured as his Master, may have hitherto kept us in Slavery. And tho' we wish none the Fate of so dreadful an Example, but rather a timely Penitence and Conversion, we yet humbly crave your Majesty's Protection against all such, if it may consist with your Royal Wisdom and Pleasure; to which we with all Humility submit, in the establishing of the said Earl of *Tyrconnel* in such Authority here, as may secure us in the Exercise of our Function, to the Honour of God, and offering up our Prayers and Sacrifice for the Continuation of your Majesty's long and prosperous Reign over us.

Dublin, *the*
of July,
1685.

Your Majesty's most
Dutiful and Obe-
dient Subjects.

N U M B. XXII.

Memoirs, p. 146. Colonel *Lutterel's* Order, forbidding
State of Ireland, above five Protestants meeting any
&c. p. 430, 431. where, &c.

By the Governor of Dublin, June 18. 1690.

WHereas several disaffected Persons of the Protestant Religion, are of late come to this City of *Dublin*, and some of them armed with Swords, Pistols, and other Weapons, contrary to his Majesty's express Commands by his Royal Proclamation, bearing Date the 20th Day of *July 1689*.

I. These are therefore to will and require all Men whatsoever of the Protestant Religion, now residing or being within

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within the said City of *Dublin*, or within the Liberties of *St. Sepulcher Donnor*, or *Thomas Court*, who are not House-keepers, or have not follow'd some lawful Vocation therein these three Months past, to depart within twenty four Hours after the Publication hereof, out of the said City and Liberties, and repair to their respective Habitations, or usual Places of Abode in the Country, upon pain of Death, or Imprisonment, and to be farther proceeded against as Contemnners of his Majesty's Royal Commands, and as Persons designing the Disturbance of the publick Peace.

II. And likewise, that all Protestants within the said City and Liberties, not being of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council, nor in his Army, or actual Service, shall, within the Time aforesaid, deliver up all their Arms, both offensive and defensive and all their Ammunition, unto his Majesty's Stores in the said City, upon Pain of Death.

III. And that no Protestant whatsoever, do presume, at his Peril, to walk or go in the Streets, from ten of the Clock at Night, till five in the Morning, nor at any time when there is an Alarm. In which case, all such Persons are required, for their Safety, and for the Security of the Publick, to keep within Doors, till such an Alarm is over.

IV. and lastly, For the prevention of Riots and unlawful Assemblies, these are therefore to will and require all the said Protestants, that no greater Number of them than five shall meet and converse at any Time, either in any House within the said City or Liberties, over and above the Family of the House, or in the Streets and Fields in and about the same, or elsewhere; hereby declaring, that all Persons who shall offend against any Clause in this present Order, shall suffer Death, or such other Punishment, as a Court-Martial shall think fit.

Memoirs, p. 152.
Memoirs pour servir
al' Historie de la
Paix de Ryfwick,
par du Mont, Tom
 2. p. 66, 67.

The French King's Declaration, published at his Camp at *Arnheim*, to oblige the *Hollanders* to surrender their Country to him, *Anno* 1672.

De par le Roy.

SA Majesté confiderant combien il a plû à Dieu de benir ses justes Desseins, & faire prosperer les enterprises, qu'il a faites depuis son arrivée à la Compagne; Et voulant traiter avec la derniere douceur les Peuples des Provinces, où elle pourra etendre ses Victoires: & afin de leur faire scaveir ce qu'ils auront à faire pour se rendre dignes de ses bontez, sa Majesté a fait declarer, & declare par la presente, que tous les Habitans des Villes de Hollande, qui se rendront volontairement à son obéissance, & recevront les Troupes, quelle trouvera bon de leur envoyer pour leur sûreté & pour leur defense, seront non seulement traités aussi favorablement qu'ils pourroient desirer; mais aussi, seront maintenus dans tous leurs Privileges & Franchises, & auront toute Liberté de Conscience avec le libre exercice de leur Religion.

Mais, au contraire, que ceux qui ne se voudront pas soumettre, de quelque qualité ou condition qu'ils soient, tâcheront de résister aux forces de sa Majesté par l'inondation de leurs Dignes, ou autrement, seront punis de la derniere rigueur. Et cependant on exercera toutes sortes d'hostilitez contre tous ceux, qui voudront s'opposer aux desseins de sa Majesté, & lors que les glaces ouvri ront le passage de tous cotez, sa Majesté ne donnera aucun

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Quartier aux Habitans des Villes, mais donnera ordre que leurs biens soient pilliez, & leurs maisons brûlées. Fait à l' Armée devant Aernhem ce 24 Juin 1672.

Signé,

LOUIS.

Et plus bas,

Le Tellier.

The Declaration.

HIS Majesty considering how it has pleased God to bless his just Designs, and prosper his Undertakings, since his Arrival in the Army; and it being his Intention to treat the People over whom he shall extend his Victories, with the highest Clemency: To the intent therefore that they may deserve his Great Goodness his Majesty has caus'd to be declar'd, and does by these Presents declare, That all the Inhabitants of the Cities of *Holland*, who shall voluntarily submit to him, and receive the Troops he shall send for their Security and Defence, shall be treated as favourably as they can desire; and shall be maintain'd in all their Privileges and Immunities, and have Liberty of Conscience, and the free Exercise of their Religion.

On the contrary, all, of whatever Quality and Condition, who shall refuse to comply with these Offers, and shall resist his Majesty's Forces, either by the Inundation of their Dignes, or otherwise, shall be punish'd with the utmost Rigour. At present, all Hostilities shall be used against those who oppose his Majesty's Designs; and
when

when the Ice shall open a Passage on all Sides, his Majesty will not give any Quarter to the Inhabitants of such Cities, but give Order that their Goods be plunder'd, and their Houses burnt. *Given at the Camp before Arnheim this 24th of June, 1672.*

Sign'd,

LOUIS.

And underneath,

La Tellier.

THE END.

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